



ALIGARH AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT, 1919-1922

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**To My Parents
and
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This is to certify that the dissertation
"Aligarh and Non-Cooperation Movement, 1919-1922",
submitted by Mr. Aijaz Ahmad is the original
work of the candidate and suitable for submission
for the award of M.Phil. degree.

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A handwritten signature in red ink, appearing to read 'Aijaz', with a horizontal line extending to the right.

(AIJAZ AHMAD)

PREFACE

The present study, as may be seen, deals with "Aligarh and Non-Cooperation Movement 1919-22", an important phase of modern Indian history. For Aligarh, this period is of crucial importance. The M.A.O. College which was considered to be an impregnable bastion of the Loyalists witnessed the rise of a strong and dynamic Nationalist group which not only broke the myth but also created a history of its own in the modern India.

The present study brings forth some hitherto hidden facets of Aligarh in the Freedom Movement. In this dissertation, on the basis of archival material, Government records, news papers reports and contemporary writings, an attempt has been made to look into the political activities in the M.A.O. College Aligarh. During the course of the present study the writer of this dissertation came across with some such facts and characters of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement which were either over looked or not properly treated. It will be noted from the pages of the dissertation that at the M.A.O. College many young students entertained Nationalists out-look and had great commitment to the national cause. The study has been divided into four chapters.

The first chapter "Aligarh and its Political Ideology,

1911-1918" deals with the Khilafat question and the response of the Muslim community from time to time. It may be seen that the Khilafat was an old institution which came into being soon after the demise of the last Prophet of the Muslims. But after the first four Caliphs, democratic character of the institution was totally changed. It took the form of sovereignty. The term 'Khalifa' however, retained its religious importance and in the latter phase of the history of the Islamic World, the Khalifa enjoyed both the spiritual and political headship of the Sunni Muslims. In Aligarh, however, the concept of Khalifa had been a matter of debate since the time of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan who believed that the institution of Khalifa ceased to exist after the demise of the fourth Caliph Hazrat Ali. A number of Loyalists in Aligarh, including their mouthpiece the 'Aligarh Institute Gazette' entertained the same out-look.

The Nationalist Muslims led by Ali Brothers, however, believed that the institution of Khalifa survived even after the death of Hazrat Ali, still alive and the Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa. The Ali Brothers and his supporters succeeded in mobilizing opinion at Aligarh and they also obtained the support of the Indian National Congress through Gandhiji when the Khilafat as institution faced extinction after Turkey's defeat in the World War I.

The Second chapter deals with the "Aligarh and National Politics, 1912-22". After the termination of the 1st World War, the Indian Muslims were greatly concerned about the future status of Holy places of Islam and the institution of Khalifa. The Nationalists at Aligarh, specially the Ali Brothers had already won the support of the Indian National Congress through Gandhiji. A large number of M.A.O. College students and some Trustees had already joined the national politics against the wishes of the Loyalists. At the M.A.O. College a Khilafat Committee was formed and through writings and speeches anti-imperialist sentiments were expressed.

Since the M.A.O. College was the centre of Muslim intellegentsia, Congress leaders found a good opportunity to respond to Ali Brothers and appeal to support. Moreover, they, specially Gandhiji, considered it in the national interest to bring the Nationalist Muslims to main national stream. Slowly the Congress programme became much popular in the M.A.O. College.

The Nationalists of M.A.O. College invited Gandhiji to Aligarh. Gandhiji on arrival at Aligarh successfully persuaded the students to join the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement. Gandhiji's arrival and specially his speech at Aligarh was a mojour contribution in strengthening the Nationalists at Aligarh.

The third chapter is devoted to "Pattern of Education in Aligarh, 1919-22." Here the writer of this dissertation has discussed the pattern of education in Aligarh before the rise of the Nationalists and afterwards. The events between 1920 and 1921 indicate that the British bureaucracy used the desire of the Muslims for the establishment of a Muslim University as a political tool. It bargained with the Muslim elites on the issue and by raising the status of the M.A.O. College to a University. They at last succeeded in weakening the tide of nationalism in Aligarh.

The last chapter is concluding part of the dissertation which is self explanatory.

CHAPTER - I

**Development of Nationalist Ideology in M.A.O. College,
1911-1918**

During the first decade of this century Khilafat¹ issue became an International question following the Tripoli and Balkan Wars. The Sultan of Turkey was also the Khalifa of the Muslims. Declaration of War on Turkey, though purely a political game, assumed a new dimension in India. The Indian Musalmans regarded it an attack on the office of the Khilafat the symbol of their religious headship which was held by the Sultan of Turkey.

After four great Khalifas (Abu Bakr, Umar, Othman and Ali), the institution of Khilafat practically lost its democratic character. After the demise of Prophet, the Khalifa was elected by the Ummah but after Hazrat Ali's death (the fourth Caliph), the Caliphate, in a true democratic sense ceased and monarchy under the garb of Caliphate emerged under the Umayyads (660 A.D. to 750 A.D.).²

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1. The word Khilafat means succession and the Khalifa is the successor of some one. In course of time the Khilafat became a religious institution and the Khalifa head of it. AIG, 30 June, 1920, p.3.
 2. The Umayyad ruler Muaviya said openly that he was the first King in Islam though he retained and used the title of Khalifa. Abbasids (750 AD to 1250 AD) also

Sultan Abdul Hamid II had succeeded to the throne of Turkey in 1876. On accession he assured a liberal form of government but in 1877 he assumed the despotic powers. Meanwhile Russia declared War against Turkey. This War came to an end with the Treaty of Berlin in which Turkey lost Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Thersly. England being an ally of Turkey began to propagate that Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa of the entire Muslim world. It bargained with the Ulama who declared that Sultan of Turkey was the Khalifa and it would be the duty of the Muslims to perform Jihad if commanded by the Khalifa.³ Later on few Ulama started a religious tour to the Caliphate. Maulana Shibli was among them.⁴ But the Muslims of Arab origin did not accept the Sultan of Turkey as their Khalifa though they were under the Sultan's sovereignty.⁵

developed Imperialistic aims and the later Turkish rule (1299 - 1922 AD) was more or less despotic. Shaikh Mohammad Abdullah, Mushahidat-Q-Taassurat, Delhi. 1969, pp. 278-280. See also Philip. K. Hitti, History of Arabs, 10th Edition, London, 1970, p. 197.

3. Mushahidat-Q-Taassurat, pp. 279-80.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

Sir Syed in his time explicitly held the view that the Khilafat as an institution came to an end after 30 years of the Prophet's death. Those who held the reign of power afterwards were called King, Sultan etc.⁶ The Aligarh School in 1920 reiterated Sir Syed's ideology.⁷

Quoting Sir Syed the Aligarh Institute Gazette (a sole media of Aligarh Loyalist) pleaded: 'If the policy of the British government is even opposed to the Turks then according to our religion we are bound to obey our rulers and remain loyal to him'.⁸ The Aligarh Institute Gazette further argues on the authority of Sir Syed that the latter never accepted Sultan of Turkey as Khalifa. Contrarily Sir Syed argued that how the 'Khalifa of Turkey could assume the status of a ruler in the country which is not under his rule, where he could neither enforce the punishment according to Shariah nor protect the religion of the Musalmans.'⁹ Sir Syed maintained his stand in regard to the Khalifa. Shortly before his death he had expressed his desire to his colleagues that they should not to depart from the policy of Loyallism to the British even if they had to be compelled to do so at the cost of an

6. AIG, 30 June, 1920.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid. p.4.

9. Ibid.

unfriendly attitude to the Sultan of Turkey.¹⁰ Sir Syed's advice was obeyed by his successors like Mohsin-ul-Mulk who proclaimed that the Sultan of Turkey should not be considered Khalifa of Indian Muslims and advocated allegiance to the British.¹¹

While Sir Syed and his successors in India were for the British Loyalty and criticised the position of the Sultan of Turkey as Khalifa of the Muslims, a very strong movement had been initiated by Jamaluddin Afghani to get all the Muslims united against Europe and Britain. He was championing the cause of Khilafat. His speeches and writings greatly influenced many scholars and Theologians in India-prominent among them being: Maulana Shibli, Hali, Abul Kalam Azad and Sir Iqbal.¹²

By the turn of the century Indian politics witnessed rapid changes. Indian National Congress had established itself as a National Party with democratic set up and secular outlook. Many Muslims disagreeing with the policy of Loyalty pursued by the Aligarh Loyalists, had joined the Congress.

10. Ram Gopal , Indian Muslims : A Political History 1885-1947, Bombay, 1959, p.127.

11. Ibid.

12. Mushirul Hasan, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1885 - 1930, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 115 - 117.

Even at Aligarh a serious discontent existed specially among the young students like Hasrat Mohani, Ali Brothers and others.

II

The Tripoli War caused great concern among the Indian Muslims. The AIG reproduced the resolution passed by the Muslim League appealing the British Government to put a stop to this brutal War, giving proof of their being the traditional supporter of Turkey. The Muslim League also appealed the Muslims to boycott all goods from Italy.¹³

The anit-Italian feelings in India increased as the War progressed. The Indian Muslims had all sympathies for Turkey and regarded Italy an aggressor. The Aligarh Loyalist called upon to boycott the German and Austrian goods along with Italian goods and use only British goods: because English prosperity was linked with the Indian Muslims' prosperity.¹⁴ Aligarh students responding to the call of contributions for the Tripoli victims raised donations for Turkey and began to boycott the Italian goods. Petty shopkeepers and servants followed the same.¹⁵

13. AIG, 11 October, 1911, p. 5.

14. AIG, 25 October, 1911, p. 4.

15. AIG, 1st November, 1911, p.2, it also writes that a barber gave one rupee out of his meager monthly salary of Rs. 6/-.

Maulana Azad also had a very critical attitude towards Italy and encouraged Muslims to extend hope in favour of Turkey. Through his paper Al-Hilal, he did attempt vigorously to expose the British diplomacy. He says that the 'Muslims should remember that today crusade is trying to oust the Islam from Europe with all its powers. But this ambition is not new to the Islam. Islam is facing these ambitions from its beginning. Now the Islam is thirteen hundred years old -----'. Although all things of the world have been changed, but God is not changed, He (God) yet can show his adventures.¹⁶

The Tripoli War thus had a great impact on the educated Muslims specially of Aligarh. Ironically most of them failed to visualise the inherent British policy at that time. Under the influence of the British Loyalists in Aligarh, there were only a selected few to understand the real position. By and large most of Aligarh Loyalists had very much expectations from England. British government's announcement of neutrality in the War and directives to the subjects to remain neutral, warning them to desist from its violation was an eye opener to many among the Loyalists in Aligarh.¹⁷

Soon after the Tripoli War, Balkan War began from October 1912. Turkey was defeated but on the question to the surrender

16. Al-Hilal, 9 October, 1912, No. 13, p. 11.

17. AIG, 15 November, 1911, p. 4.

of Adrianople, the War again broke out. Turkey was again defeated in 1913, a treaty was signed in London and Balkan War came to an end.¹⁸

During the progress of the Balkan War, anti-British feelings gained ground among educated young Muslims specially at Aligarh. On 17th October, 1912 after the Friday Prayer at the M.A.O. College Mosque the Muslims prayed for Turkish betterment.¹⁹ On 27th October, 1912 even Non-Muslims gathered at Aligarh and demanded the release of Bal Gangadhar Tilak, expressing their sympathy with Turkey.²⁰ Bipin Chandra Pal a prominent Nationalist and an inveterate enemy of Pan-Islamism presided over a gathering which was organised to express solidarity with and support for Turkey. He regarded that the loss of Turkey was a loss of the world civilization.²¹ Maulana Shaukat Ali who was one of the main organiser and protagonist against the British, proposed volunteers to fight against Balkans and asked for government's help.²² But the government

18. Stanford, J. Shaw & Ezel Kural Shaw, History of the Ottomon Empire and Modern Turkey, Vol-II, Cambridge, 1977, pp. 290-293.

19. AlG, 16 October, 1912, p.5.

20. Ibid, 30 October, 1912, p.4 (d).

21. Mohd Sadiq, The Turkish Revolution and Indian Freedom Movement, New Delhi, 1983, p.30 (Here after cited as Sadiq)

22. AlG, 30 October, 1912, p.5 (A).

pleaded and advised neutrality. Most of the Aligarh teachers, students and other Muslims felt that the Balkan War was not merely a political but a religious War. This consideration was based upon the fact that the Austrians and Russians were supporting and helping the Balkan states.²³ It is interesting that Balkan issue was not confined to the men folk of the community. For the first time, in the history of modern times, the Muslim ladies also came out boldly to condemn the Balkan War. On 29th November, 1912 Mrs. Mahmood Begum arranged a meeting of women and delivered a stirring speech persuading them to donate liberally to the victims of the Balkan War. She argued that it would be a participation by the Muslim ladies in the Holy War, to provide relief to the families of the dead and injured persons in the War.²⁴ Begum Sahiba thus succeeded in raising a moderate sum of about Rs. 1385/-.²⁵ Maulana Shibli on the commencement of the Balkan War in October, 1912 was very much grieved and wrote a poetry entitled "Shahr-Ashoob-i-Islam".²⁶

The Balkan problem created a new current in the life of Aligarh Students. They had become very much emotional due to

23. AIG, 30 October, 1912, p.5 (A).

24. Ibid. 8 January, 1913, pp. 11-12.

25. Ibid.

26. Naqoosh, Lahore, January, 1955, p. 24.

the War and the British diplomacy. To raise money for Turkey they decided not to eat meat and rice²⁷. They also demanded that the total of the fund collected for the establishment of the Muslim University should be given to Turkey.²⁸ Mohammad Ali proposed for the approval of the appropriate authority of the M.A.O. College to transfer the money from University fund to Turkey either directly or as a debt.²⁹ But Trustees of the M.A.O. College ignored this proposal.³⁰

The students of the M.A.O. College and School by way of a token help to the injured Turks in fighting to protect Balkan states, after much consideration, decided to send a medical mission to Turkey led by Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari. He was accompanied by Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman, Abdur Rahman Siddique, Shoaib Qureshi and Aziz Ansari from the M.A.O. College and Manzoor Mahmood and Abdur Rahman Peshawari from the M.A.O. School on December, 1912.³¹ Medical Mission returned to India

27. Habibullah Khan, Hayat-i-Aftab, Allahbad, 1947, pp. 92-93.

28. Ibid.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. AIG, 26 June, 1912. See also, Shan Mohammad, Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Delhi, 1981, p. 106 and Fikr-o-Nazr, Part-III, p. 138.

on 12 July 1913. But Abdur Rahman Peshawari joined the military service in Turkey and did not return. Dr. Ansari delivering a speech at the M.A.O. College, said that the most important result of the mission was the formation of a bond of union between the Turkish nation and India.³²

The Turkish issue had created a chasm among the Trustees, Teachers and Students at Aligarh. Now the two groups the Loyalists and those having anti - British ideology had emerged. By that time the Loyalist strength was in keeping a section of the community under their influence assuring the establishment of a Muslim University with the approval of the Government. The Loyalists in Aligarh were in great embarrassment when the India Office refused to approve the Government of India's recommendation to the elevation of M.A.O. College to the status of a University on the terms proposed by the Muslims in 1912.³³ The negative British attitude towards the demand of the establishment of the University was bound to shaken the faith of many Loyalists at Aligarh.

The Nationalists at Aligarh taking advantage of the

32. Sadiq, p. 31.

33. Harding's letter to Chirol of 7 August, 1912 cited in Shan Mohammad, The Indian Muslims, Meerut, 1980, p. 121, (Here after cited as Indian Muslims).

situation held a series of secret meetings of students exposing the role of British Government in India and fanned their sentiments by citing the fate of Islam in Morocco, Persia and Turkey.³⁴ Political agitation in Aligarh thus reached a peak causing great concern to the British high officials. The Lieutenant Governor Sir James's letter to Viceroy Lord Harding is illuminating. The boys were getting 'bad ways'. The Loyalists were getting sick of the young party, who felt danger from the Nationalists (Mahammed Ali and others). The Lieut. Governor of U.P. thus proposed to the Viceroy to close the M.A.O. College.³⁵

Sir Valentine Chirol remarked that a new generation of young Muhammadans had nevertheless been growing up who knew not Syed Ahmad and regarded his teachings as obsolete.³⁶ Ali Brothers backed by Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal organised Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba to raise funds to protect religious places of Muslims and to provide whatever assistance they could to Turkey.³⁷ Most of them now openly

34. Harding's letter to Butler dated 29 October, 1912, cited in The Indian Muslims, p. 127.

35. Ibid.

36. Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, p. 109.

37. Sumit Sarkar, Modern India 1885-1947, Madras, 1983 p. 144
(Here after cited as Sumit Sarkar).

advocated pursuance of a policy of joint struggle against the British by joining hands with the Congress. Now there was clear shift among the youths of Aligarh and a sure departure from Sir Syed's policy.

III

The manifestation of this attitude was first seen in the seizure of the office of Muslim League at Lucknow in 1912 by the Nationalist youths from M.A.O. College. Among its prominent leaders were Wazir Hasan, T.A.K. Sherwani, Ali Brothers, Hasrat Mohani, Zafar Ali Khan, Aziz Mirza, Musa Khan, Allama Shibli etc. Those who supported the liberal constitutionalism and had Loyalist ideology were - Samiullah, Nawab Ali Chaudhuri, Shamsul Huda, Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Agha Khan, Ameer Ali, Aftab Ahmad Khan, Dr. Ziauddin, Shaikh Abdullah, Mir Vilayat Husain, Syed Tufail Ahmad, Habibullah Khan, Azizuddin Ahmad Bilgrami and Raja of Mahmoodabad.³⁸

The Nationalists at Aligarh propagated their ideology very effectively. They were very much against the policy of British Loyalism and impressed considerably the leadership of the Indian National Congress. The emergence of the

38. MAS, Vol. IX, 1975, pp. 227 - 229. See also - Sumit Sarkar, p. 143 and Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, p. 83.

Nationalists at Aligarh was a challenge to the well set Loyalists. Aligarh politics was thus witnessed a sharp divide. On the one side the Loyalists held their guns and on the other, the Nationalists preached for radicalism. Political differences in Aligarh were bound to lead to a position of collision. Maulana Shaukat Ali foresaw this situation and was convinced that before a direct confrontation with the British at Aligarh, they would have to fight with the Loyalists.³⁹

By the writings, speeches and regular campaigns of the Nationalists at M.A.O. College, a number of students were converted to radicalism and they became very critical to British Government and entertained anti - British feelings. The Turkish problem further strengthened the anti - British feelings among the M.A.O. College students.

The College was still in the hands of the Loyalists but the Nationalists at M.A.O. College, had greater influence among the students.

During the World War I the Loyalist section re-iterated its loyalty to the British but the Nationalists voiced their opposition. Ali Brothers frequently visited the College and started mobilizing the students against the British. Chaudhary Khaliquzzaman was encouraged to collect arms from

39. MAS, Vol. IX, 1975, pp. 227 - 229.

the private factories to launch a campaign at the frontier against the Government.⁴⁰ This idea was just like that of Syed Ahmad of Barielly. Khaliquzzaman was accompanied by Shoaib Qureshi, Abdur Rahman and Aziz Ansari.⁴¹ Ali Brothers visited Jamrud in the NWFP and Ali Masjid with a view to obtain their support and persuade them to rise in rebellion against the British.⁴²

In the meantime Mohammad Ali also contacted Prince Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal, an Old Boy of the M.A.O. College through Khaliquzzaman and sought his support. Hamidullah Khan convinced of the arguments conveyed by Khaliquzzaman joined the Nationalist group of Aligarh, causing annoyance to the Government and forfeiture of his claim to succession.⁴³ The anti - British feelings gained considerable strength among the Old Boys of the M.A.O. College now residing outside of the country. The case of Raja Mahendra Pratap Singh, Barkatullah and Obaidullah Sindhi is too well known who set up Provincial Government of Free India at Kabul.⁴⁴

40. Successors of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, p. 113.

41. Ibid.

42. Ibid.

43. Ibid. p. 115.

44. Summit Sarkar, p. 149.

IV

Now Aligarh Loyalists and Aligarh Nationalists had formed clear ideology in regard to the British Government. The role of the Nationalists at Aligarh was an encouraging phenomenon to the Nationalist leaders like Mrs. Besant and Tilak. They maintained close contact with the Aligarh Nationalists and to the great chagrin of the Aligarh Loyalists. They succeeded in bringing the Muslim League, now under the domination of Aligarh Nationalists, closer to the Indian National Congress by concluding a pact in December, 1916 at Lucknow. Interestingly, Lucknow Pact was equally opposed by Madan Mohan Malviya, a member of the National Congress and founder of the Hindu Maha Sabha.⁴⁵

At Lucknow after a detailed discussion over distribution of seats, the Congress conceded to the League stand on the separate electorate. The Muslim representation for the Punjab was agreed to be 50% ; Bengal 40% ; Bombay 33% ; United Provinces 30% ; Central Provinces 15% ; Madras 15%.⁴⁶

It was further decided at Lucknow that if in any Province

45. Bipin Chandra, Indians Struggle for Independance, New Delhi, 1989, p. 116.

46. Lal Bahadur, The Muslim League : Its History Activities and Achievements, Agra, 1954, p. 114 (Here after cited as Lal Bahadur).

the 2/3rd of a community be against any measure or Bill, it should be dropped by both the communities.⁴⁷

Muslims who had any connection with the Muslim League or Indian National Congress or Home Rule League were happy and welcomed this Pact. Aligarh Loyalists led by Khan Bahadur Shaikh Abdullah vehemently opposed the Congress League Pact.⁴⁸

The Lucknow Pact was a symbol of Hindu - Muslim unity. Congress became popular among middle class educated Muslims who had been hitherto under the influence of the Loyalists. The Nationalists at Aligarh managed to persuade Mr. Sarojni Naidu, one of the youngest women Nationalist leaders to visit Aligarh. She visited the College on January 1917. She was given a rousing reception by the M.A.O. College students. Mrs. Naidu in her speech asked the students to continue their study with great care and attention as education was the only thing which could make the nation memorable.⁴⁹

47. Lal Bahadur, p. 114.

48. Ibid. p. 115.

49. AIG, 17 January, 1917, p. 1.

The defeat of Turkey in the World War I caused a great alarm to the Indian Muslims. The echo of the general concern of the Indian Muslims irrespective of party affiliations may be seen through their speeches and writings. In October, 1918 Turkey was overcome by Allied armies and soon after, Constantinople was occupied. This led to termination of War in November, 1918. Treaty of Sevres was imposed on Turkey. The Sultan was reduced to a British puppet and Ottoman Empire was shared among the Allied nations i.e. the Britain, France, Greece, Italy and Arabs.

Consequently the Indian Muslims who were concerned about the Khilafat problem founded a Khilafat Committee at Bombay which soon became an All India Organization. Even a highly westernised and known Loyalist Agha Khan could not restrain himself. He wrote a letter to Arthur Balfour, the Foreign Secretary, protesting against the proposal of Peace Conference to dismember the Turkish Empire.⁵⁰

After 1916, the League - Congress were very close. They supported one another on political issues. On the Montague - Chemsford Report they held the identical view. Now the Congress-League sessions were being held simultaneously at one place and dates. Some of the Nationalist leaders of Aligarh

50. The Annual Register 1919, p. 260.

such as T.A.K. Sherwani and Manzar Ali Sokhta became active Congress members in provinces. Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Asaf Ali and Hakim Ajmal Khan had become leading Congress leaders of Delhi while Khwaja Abdul Majid and Syed Haider Mahdi elected to All India Congress Committee.⁵¹ With the alliance of the Ulama (specially School of Farangi Mahal and Deoband) they formed an All India Khilafat Committee.

It is also remarkable that the Loyalist's group of Aligarh had also considerable sympathy with Turkey but their belief in Khalifa and relation with Government was different to that of the Nationalist leaders at Aligarh. This may be inferred from the statement of Ibni Ahmad a member of the Old Party Loyalists who told Dr. M.A. Ansari in December, 1919 :

"No one can deny that every Muslim is concerned about the future of Turkey ----, we differ only on one point i.e. how to convey our feelings to the authorities".⁵²

During 1919 and onward the Muslim League disappeared from the scene completely and its place was taken by All India Khilafat Committee. Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leaders like Swami Shradhanand, Pt. Nekiram and Gandhiji, by extending full cooperation to the Muslims won their confidence. They now

51. Francis Robinson, Separatism Among Indian Muslims, Britain, 1974, p. 260 (Here after cited as Robinson).

52. Ibid. p. 291.

began to play much bigger part in Muslim affairs.⁵³ The Loyalists more or less disappeared from the scene. Now in Aligarh the Nationalist gained much strength and prestige. The Loyalist in Aligarh were weakened considerably. Many of them had accepted the Government services. Prominent among them were Aftab Ahmad Khan who joined as Secretary of the State Council. Syed Abdul Rauf became a Judge of the Punjab Chief Court, and Ibni Ahmad perhaps retired from politics and disappeared from the view.⁵⁴

53. Robinson, p. 289.

54. Ibid. p. 258.

CHAPTER - II

ALIGARH AND NATIONAL POLITICS, 1919-22

I

The World War I came to an end on 11 November 1918. Turkey had been defeated badly by the Allied Powers and the Sultan became a puppet in their hands. It caused much resentment all over the Muslim world. In India, the Muslims were supported by Congress, became very critical to the British Government. The Indian Muslims wanted an assurance to the safeguard of the Holy places of Islam in Mesopotamia and Arabia against the Christian Allied Powers.¹ The Ulama also supported the Muslim political leaders and assured them to fight for the Khilafat.²

According to Mohammad Ali, Khilafat was the most important institution for the entire Muslim world which was almost unanimously approved by the Ulama.³

In December 1918, annual meeting of the Muslim League was held. Khilafat was the main issue for debate. Dr. M.A. Ansari said that holy places should be left intact. Among the other

1. Neimeijer, Khilafat Movement in India, 1919-1924, Hague, 1972, p. 89.

2. Ibid.

3. Moin Shakir, Khilafat to Partition 1919-47, New Delhi, 1970, p. 66.

speakers, were Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, Mohammad Shoaib Qureshi, Khwaja Abdul Majid, Dr. Abdul Rahman Sindhi, Hasrat Mohani, Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal and Maulana Azad Subhani.⁴ On 17th October 1919, on Friday the First Khilafat Day was observed. Gandhiji was one of the invitees by the Khilafat leaders. He appealed to the Hindus to cooperate with the Muslims on this occasion.⁵

Gandhiji approved the idea given by the Khilafat leaders not to participate in the forthcoming Peace Celebration. On 16th November 1919, Gandhiji presided over a strong meeting of 10,000 persons held at Delhi. In this meeting an Anti-Peace Celebrations Propaganda Committee was formed.⁶ On 23rd November 1919 an All India Khilafat Conference was held. It was organised by Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr. M.A. Ansari and presided over by Gandhiji⁷ in which it was officially declared not to participate in the Peace Celebration and if Khilafat question was not settled then it would be the duty of all Muslims to withdraw cooperation from the British Government. Between November 1919 and May 1920, the Indian Muslims held a series of meetings under the Khilafat Committee. The Aligarh

4. File No. 6, p.1 (UPSAL).

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ram Gopal, p. 137.

Nationalists group took leading part in all the meetings. Peace terms of the Treaty of the Sevres was announced in 16 May 1920.⁸ Gandhiji's reaction to the Treaty of Sevres was spontaneous, sharp and quite clear : "a staggering blow to the Indian Musalmans" and ... Non-Cooperation is the only effective remedy.⁹

The Treaty of Sevres made Turkey to renounce all rights in her former African possessions as well as Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia and Arabia.¹⁰

Nothing remained with Turkey except Constantinople and mountainous Anatolia. Meanwhile the Young Turks led by Mustafa Kamal established their Government at Ankara. They did not accept the Treaty of Sevres and started attack on Allied occupations. They attacked Gallipoli peninsula and Cilicia, the French occupation and won a series of victories against France, Italy and Britain. The Young Turks set up a new Government under the name of Grand National Assembly.¹¹

Thus within Turkey a new political awakening forged a unity. The Sultan of Turkey lost much of his hold. His

8. File No. 6, p. 6 (UPSAL).

9. Robinson, p. 311.

10. Stanford J. Shaw, p. 332.

11. Syed Tufail Ahmad Manglori, Muslmanon Ka Roshan Mustaqbil, Delhi, 1945, p. 481.

position as Khalifa of the Musalmans was also under serious threat. While in Turkey, new era had dawned, in India the Indian Muslims by and large stuck to their stand to protect the Khalifa and the Caliphate. In the meeting of Central Khilafat Committee at Allahabad in June 1920, Gandhiji put forward the Non-Cooperation in regard to Honorary office, titles and civil employment under the Government.¹²

The proposal was opposed by the Loyalist Aligarh group led by Syed Reza Ali.¹³ But the voice of the Aligarh Loyalists was too weak against the dominant Nationalist group led by Maulana Shaukat Ali and supported by Maulana Abdul Bari. The Aligarh Nationalists prevailed and in the next meeting of the Khilafat Committee a resolution of Non-Cooperation and Boycott including the renunciation of titles

12. File No. 6, p. 6 (UPSAL).

13. He was elected Aligarh Trustee in 1915, led the Muslim delegation to Viceroy over Turkey in 1922 and 1923. He was granted Knighthood and CBE. Reza Ali was described by Meston in 1914, rather unfairly plausible but very third rate member of the young Muhammadans*. He was the strongest advocate of Muslim interest in the U.P. Legislature Council and major protagonist of U.P. Muslim interest in the U.P. Municipalities Bill compromise and Lucknow Pact. (a biography cited in Robinson).

was passed.¹⁴ It was also decided to establish contact with Ulama of Darul Uloom of Deoband, and Farangi Mahal and Nadvatul Ulama of Lucknow.¹⁵

Aligarh was thus quite divided on Khilafat issue. This division was not confined to India. In England, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was making rigorous efforts to mobilize favourable opinion for the protection of Khilafat in Turkey.¹⁶ Due to division of opinion on Turkish issue Aligarh was very much affected. A large number of students took interest in Khilafat Movement and supported Ali Brothers and Hasrat Mohani. At this juncture Mohammed Ali's criticism to the Loyalists of Aligarh like Shaikh Abdullah and Dr. Ziauddin, can be understood. Here it may be pointed out that the Nationalist in Aligarh were under constant attack by the Loyalists. Shaikh Abdullah, and Shaukat Ali during this period developed serious differences of opinion. Specially Shaikh Abdullah and the like minded persons strongly objected to the Shaukat Ali's criticism of Sir Syed.¹⁷ Shaikh Abdullah alleged that the Ali Brothers were pleading to send the donations, raised for the Aligarh Muslim University fund, to

14. File No. 6, p. 7 (UPSAL).

15. Mushirul Hasan, Mohammad Ali : Ideology and Politics, New Delhi, 1981, p. 44.

16. Hayat-i-Aftab, p. 206.

17. Mushahidat - O - Taassurat, pp. 286-290.

Turkey. Mohammad Ali strongly argued that the Khilafat was at stake and what would be the use of University in such a situation. But the M.A.O. College authorities could not trust Ali Brothers believing that if the money was handed over to the Ali Brothers, they would squander it.¹⁸ Shaikh Abdullah further alleged that in the Lucknow meeting another appeal was made in the name of the Khalifa whose existence was under threat putting forward the argument that with the disappearance of Khilafat the name of Islam would be erased. To counter the agitation for the Khilafat Movement the Loyalists began to circulate pamphlets among the Muslims. One of the pamphlets carried Sir Syed's opposition to the institution of Khilafat. Despite the Loyalists determined efforts to counter the Khilafat propaganda in 1920, Ali Brothers came to Aligarh for mobilizing students to join the movement. From Aligarh they moved to London with a view to convince the Government and the public for the Khilafat cause.¹⁹ Mohammad Ali headed the deputation and Syed Sulaiman Nadvi and Mr. Syed Husain were members of the deputation.²⁰ The deputation returned to India without any success. The Khilafat Committees in the meantime had been very active in

18. Mushahidat - O - Taassurat, pp. 286-290.

19. Khalid Hasan Qadiri, Hasrat Mohani, Delhi, 1985, p. 114.

20. Syed Mohammad Hadi, Ali Biradran Aur Unka Zamana, New Delhi, 1978, p. 91.

mobilizing general support in India for the Khilafat cause.

On 1st August, on the occasion of Khilafat Day a call for strike was given. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad issued a fatwa declaring that according to Shariah the Muslims of India had no choice but to migrate from India.²¹ Soon a large number of Ulama issued similar fatwas supporting the Khilafat Movement.²²

Maulana Azad's fatwa and Ali Brothers arguments for Hijrat evoked a mixed reaction among the Ulama. Maulana Abdul Bari, an active supporter of the Khilafat disagreed the Hijrat issue.²³ Deoband School remained aloof regarding Hijrat. Ironically Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi of Deoband School was against the venture.²⁴ Maulvi Ahmad Reza Khan Bareilvi, during this period, with a large follower of Sunni Muslims, had been

21. Mushirul Hasan, Nationalism and Communal Politics in India 1916-1928, New Delhi, 1979, p. 173.

22. Ibid. See also, F.No. 6, p. 8 (UPSAL).

23. Shaikh Shahid Ali, Majmua Risala-i-Hijrat wa Risal-i-Qurbani Gao, Farangi Mahal, Lucknow, 1920, p. 150, cited in MAS, Vol. 13, Part I, February 1979, pp. 41-57.

24. Hijrat was not liked by many Khilafat leaders like Dr. M.A. Ansari, Hasrat Mohani, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Asaf Ali, Mohammad Shafi, Fazli Husain and Dr. Mohammad Iqbal etc. MAS, Vol. 13, Part I, February 1979, pp. 41-57.

generally supporting the Government policy and declined to support the Khilafat as well as fatwa of Hijrat.²⁵

Despite the divided Ulama on the Hijrat a large number of Muslims from Punjab, Baluchistan and some from U.P. and Bihar migrated to Afghanistan as they expected a fair deal from the Amir of Kabul. They were disillusioned when the Amir refused to their entry. Consequently the Mujahidin suffered a lot. Many women and children died in harness.²⁶

While thousands of Muslims were migrating from India, the M.A.O. College was reeling under serious conflicting opinions. The Government was bargaining with the Loyalists in Aligarh by promises of raising the status of M.A.O. College to a University.²⁷ The Aligarh Trustees thus were showing great interest in the establishment of a Muslim University than the Khilafat issue to the great chagrin of Maulana Shaukat Ali and the like minded Old Boys of the M.A.O. College. Shaukat Ali

25. MAS, Vol. 13, Part - I, February 1979, pp. 41-57.

26. Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-1928, p. 176. See also Ali Biradran, p. 91.

27. Interestingly by the same tactics the British Government kept Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya to its support as Government had already granted Hindu University at Banaras. Cf. Malviyaji, S.P. Sen - Dictionary of National Biography, Calcutta, 1974. (Here after quoted as Sen).

delivered an emotional speech chastising the Trustees: "O' Muslims ! remember this that one who has no love for Khalifa has no love for Islam ----- I repeat Kalima-e-Tauhid and declare that in the service of Islam and in the service of Khalifa, I offer to sacrifice my life".²⁸

Shaukat Ali's pleadings and chastisings to the Aligarh Loyalists bore no fruits. The Loyalists thought that the Khilafat propaganda was a non sense. They stuck to Sir Syed's concept and believed that the Khalifa of Turkey was in no way their religious head.

In the early days of the September 1920, the special session of the Congress was held and inspite of many oppositions the resolution of Non-Cooperation and Boycott was passed. More stress was given in boycotting the councils, Government Courts and the educational institutions aided or supported by Government. The Khilafat Committee, Muslim League and Jamiatul Ulama, followed the same line. At Nagpur (December 1920) the programme of Non-Cooperation was adopted enthusiastically by the Congress. Even C.R.Das and Lala Lajpat Rai who had opposed the programme in Calcutta Session endorsed the programme.²⁹

The anti-British feelings were considerably generated by

28. Hasrat Mohani, p. 219.

29. Abul Kalam Azad, India Wins Freedom, Madras, 1988, p.11.

the Ali Brothers and Hasrat Mohani at Aligarh. A large number of students joined the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement much to the displeasure of the Trustees of the M.A.O. College. They did not wish to drag the College into the vortex of politics. They were keeping themselves away from the changed conditions and continued to stick to the object and loyalty to the Raj, on an obvious endeavour to improve the position of the middle class Muslims. The general Muslim population was still economically and educationally backward. No concerted efforts seem to have been made to wage a crusade against backwardness, poverty and ignorance of the community. The M.A.O. college Trustees and other Loyalists were unfortunately thrown to narrow politics of opposing the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement. Credit must be given to those Nationalist Muslims at Aligarh who continued their journey on the road of nationalism with determination and resolution without caring acrimonies from the opponents.

The second decade of the current century is marked with fast political developments in the country. The Khilafat and Non-Cooperation resolutions had infused new spirits among the Nationalists. The M.A.O. College Aligarh had by now established itself as a strong centre of Nationalists.

The new wave of nationalism had practically side-lined the communal elements among the Hindus and Muslims. Gandhiji's support to the Khilafat issue had made him a great leader of the Nationalists to the great chagrin of the communalists of the two communities. To tarnish the image of Gandhiji, vicious propaganda was launched against him. Thus one of the Loyalist publications from Aligarh quoted Gandhiji as saying: "For many years, I have ate nothing in the houses of Christians and Muslims".³⁰ Every step taken or statement made by Gandhiji during the period was seen with a jaundiced eye. Gandhiji's crusade against caste system was ridiculed.³¹

The AIG carried a relentless propaganda : "According to Gandhiji's assertions the object of the Non-Cooperation is to secure freedom. He assures us freedom within a year. Now, let us see, what type of Swaraj that would be which he promises to

30. Mr. Gandhi Ki Zindagi Par Ek Nazar, Muslim University Institute Aligarh., 1922, p. 27.

31. Ibid.

give us in a year. We put the questions ; can Gandhiji obtain power by bye - passing the present Government which India needs?³²

The Hindu communalists equally hostile to Gandhiji and his political ideology. To quote for example, N.C. Kelkar, regarded Gandhiji was placating Muslims. He openly rejected Gandhiji's stand on the Khilafat issue confessing squarely "--- we have no heart in this movement ----- we have keep some appearances to please Mr. Gandhiji -----".³³ Dvijendra Nath Tagore seems to have misunderstood the programme of Non-Cooperation and regarded it as "Maya Mriga".³⁴

Mr. Ramananda Chatterji Editor of 'Modern Review' questioned how Mr. Gandhi could talk of Boycott of foreign articles, when the paper, ink and typer (for print) for his paper "Young India" were imported from the foreign country.³⁵

The pro-colonial regime elements, specially the British armed personnel in India kept on criticising Gandhiji as an

32. AIG, 17 November, 1920, pp. 3-4. See also L.F. William Rushbrook, India in 1920, Vol. II, Delhi, 1985, p. 59.

33. Department of Home - Political : Coll - 35 - Aug -Deposit - 1920 (NAI).

34. Young India, 22 September, 1920.

35. Department of Home - Political : Coll - 51 - October - Deposit - 1920 (NAI).

Idiot and forged man.³⁶ The Annual Register a Government publication described Gandhiji as an "Extremist".³⁷ Obaidullah Sindhi though sowed an anti - British views, misunderstood Gandhiji and charged him for the 'Hinduization of the country'.³⁸

Despite all criticism, Gandhiji, due to his clear policy to support the Khilafat agitation and Non-Cooperation, won a large section of Indians including Muslims. According Bipin Chandra Pal "thousands of men, women and children think that Gandhiji has a devine power. Mostly do not know the meaning of Swaraj and Non-Cooperation but believe that, Mahatma through his devine power will bring peace and prosperity in this country".³⁹ All his programmes and policies were from the gross root level and for the masses of the country.

In Aligarh the Nationalists led by Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali continued to work with Gandhiji shoulder with shoulder. Gandhiji by now had emerged a national leader.

36. Mr. Gandhi Ki Zindagi Par Ek Nazar, p. 5.

37. The Annual Register 1920, p. 275 (MALA).

38. Moin Shakir, p. 47. See also, Mohammad Munawwar who goes far ahead alleging Gandhiji to breaking the Lucknow Pact. Dimension of Pakistan Movement, Lahore, 1987, p. 145.

39. Mr. Gandhi Ki Zindagi Par Ek Nazar, pp. 2-3.

Ali Brothers strong support to the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation had made them very popular. In Aligarh they had ended the monopoly of Loyalist leaders who so far enjoyed undisputed leadership of the Muslims. To malign them and to rouse religious sentiments of the Muslims against the Ali Brothers, the AIG published a statement of Ali Brothers saying that 'had not the prophethood come to an end Gandhiji would have been a prophet'.⁴⁰ The AIG in the same issue reported with reference to the newspaper "Islam" that Shaukat Ali during a speech at Surat said : "The Muslim believe that at the time of a crisis on Islam, Imam Mahdi would appear, and deliver the message of God throughout the world. But at present, in his place Gandhiji had arrived".⁴¹

Such attempts by the mouth piece of the Loyalists in Aligarh were being made with an object to discredit the Ali Brothers in the eyes of the Muslims who were very sensitive on religious issue. The Loyalists accelerated their propaganda by raising questions about the sincerity of Congress support to Khilafat. They imputed the intentions that Gandhiji and the Congress were supporting the Khilafat issue to protect the Cow.

Interestingly the Loyalist elements were not only confined to the M.A.O. College alone. Such elements were

40. AIG, 15 November, 1920, p. 1.

41. Ibid.

holding grounds in the premier centres of modern education like the Banaras Hindu University and Khalsa College Amritsar. Gandhiji was unhappy to this trend in these educational centres run by the Indians. He had been striving to persuade the men in power in these three institutions to join the struggle. He was disappointed and was constrained to announce "---- I do desire passionately to destroy all these three institutions as they are and would strive to raise purer and truer ones instead".⁴² He painfully rejected to recognise these institutions to be the representative of their culture.⁴³ He also clarified that under the colonial rule Islam, Hinduism and Sikhism are at peril without any discrimination. Gandhiji's exhortations made some impact on a section of the Loyalist group in Aligarh. But the fear of reprisal of the Government and the Trustees, was so great that some teachers though in agreement with Gandhiji were not venturing to join the movement openly.⁴⁴

Gandhiji's general assessment of the situation was that the vast majority of students of India had no regard or

42. Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi, Vol. 18, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting Government of India, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 378-379. (Here after quoted as Collected Works).

43. Ibid.

44. Ibid.

respect to the British rule. He thus advocated that it would be a sin for the nation to receive education in Schools financed or under influence or control of the British Government.⁴⁵

Maulana Hasrat Mohani a Nationalist from Aligarh was maintaining a constant position in regard to the Aligarh's Loyalist attitude to the National Movement. His main argument was that Sir Syed Ahmad Khan pursued a policy towards the Congress when majority of the Indian Muslims had been ruined for their part played in the Rebellion of 1857. It was considered essential by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan not to allow the Muslims any further indulgence in politics, hence opposition to the Congress. But since Sir Syed Ahmad days much has been changed. The time was not static, hence there was no danger of reprisal.⁴⁶ In the changing situations he argued to persuade the Aligarh Loyalists to give up the policy of Loyalism and adopt Non-Cooperation.⁴⁷

Despite strong hold of the Loyalists, a formidable section of the Nationalist at Aligarh comprising of Dr. Zakir Husain, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai and others had emerged. Moinuddin

45. Young India, 27 October, 1920.

46. Syed Shifqat Rizvi, Maulana Hasrat Mohani, Karachi, 1988, p. 11.

47. Maulana Hasrat Mohani, p. 11

Ahmad of Hyderabad who later became Minister of State in Indian Union Cabinet; Ahad Husain the Indian Tennis Player of the world fame; Shafiqur Rahman Kidwai of Baragaon, a prominent and very sincere and honest Congress Leader of Delhi; Khuda Baksh Sindhi who later on became a Mayor of Karachi Corporation; Mir Akbar Ali Khan, who became Governor of U.P. and Orissa; Sulaiman Ansari of Gorakhpur, who became Parliamentary Secretary in the first Congress Ministry of 1937-39; Syed Obaidur Rahman Khan Sherwani became Pro-Chancellor of A.M.U. Aligarh⁴⁸ joined the Non-Cooperation Movement.

In organising the students of M.A.O. College, Rafi Ahmad played a prominent role. He was black listed and declared 'a rebel' by Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, the Principal of M.A.O. College and a strong Loyalist. Now the expulsion of Rafi Ahmad Kidwai from the College was eminent. However he remained firm on the national stand. Since 1920, he was an active Congress and Khilafat worker. He threw his lot to the national cause abandoning his education in 1921 eventually saving himself

48. M. Hashim Kidwai, Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Govt. of India, 1986, pp. 27-36. See also, B.K. Ahluwalia, and Shashi Ahluwalia, Muslims and Indian Freedom Movement, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 142-143 and Rashid Ahmad Siddiqui, Hamare Zakir Saheb, Delhi, 1973, pp. 77-78.

from expulsion. He jailed along with other Comrades, was sent to Lucknow jail. Nationalists of Aligarh join hands with Congress Leaders like Gandhiji, Abul Kalam Azad, Motilal Nehru, Jawahar Lal Nehru, Sarojini Naidu, C.R. Das, M.A. Ansari and Tagore. They became active in Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement and strived hard for Hindu - Muslim Unity which was being threatened under the encouragement of colonial rules to the communal elements of the two communities.⁴⁹

On 23rd November, 1920 a Conference of 500 Ulama was held at Delhi. Mohammad Ali was present there. Resolutions were passed declaring it unlawful to maintain any relation or cooperation with the Government.⁵⁰ Among the supporters of the resolution was Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal. But the house of the Farangi Mahal Ulama was divided. Some of them, appears to be influenced by the prospects of monetary gains and Government patronage, were strongly opposing Maulana Bari's political ideology. Initially the editor of AIG found it expedient to circulate Abdul Bari's fatwa with criticism that "defier of Non-Cooperation were among the 'tyrant' and that was even sitting with the tyrants was not lawful".⁵¹

49. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai, pp. 27-36. See also, Ahluwalia, pp. 142-143 and Hamare Zakir Saheb, pp. 77-78.

50. File No. 6 (UPSAL). See also, Gopinath Aman, Apni Kahani New Delhi, 1961, pp. 219-220.

51. AIG, 22 November, 1920, p. 2.

To support his point of view the editor quoted Maulana Ashraf Ali of Thana Bhawan's criticism and opposition to join hands with the Hindus in the National Movement.⁵²

The AIG writes with sarcasm quoting Maulana Thanvi that those who were supporting the cow slaughter and welcoming pilgrims returning from Dwarka, how they can be debarred from fatwa of infidelity?⁵³

The great response of Non-Cooperation by the students of the M.A.O. College had infact shaken the Loyalists. The AIG was their mouthpiece. The stand of Maulana Thanvi on that Non-Cooperation was quite clear.⁵⁴ His biographer, Khwaja Azizul Hasan reproduces the fatwa of Maulana Thanvi on cooperation (with Non-Muslims) to achieve freedom and establish an independent state in India. Maulana says that the difference of opinion are about two points; 'Cooperation with British' and 'Unity to establish independent state in India'. Some Ulama say that cooperation is legal and Unity is illegal. But some Ulama are totally different to this view and say that the Cooperation is illegal and Unity is legal. Maulana Thanvi thus says that "this Cooperation or Unity" is neither proper

52. AIG, pp. 4-5

53. Ibid.

54. Khwaja Azizul Hasan Ghorī Majzoob, Ashraf-us-Sawaneh, Vol. III, Saharanpur, (ND), p. 163.

(wajib) nor unlawful (haram), from the religious point of view it is a permissible act. Thus to the learned there is no point of discord. He concludes that the decision to join or not to join the Non-Cooperation was a matter of interpretation (ijtihad) and was open to disputes.⁵⁵

The AIG continued to incite emotions of its Muslim readership by pointing out that the Aligarh College was made for upliftment and amelioration of the Muslims educationally, had different views and declared it unlawful to harm the College educationally or materially by joining the Non-Cooperation Movement.⁵⁶ It also criticised Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for his telegram to Maulvi Sherwani⁵⁷ criticising for his Cooperation with the Government.⁵⁸ The AIG clarified that Aligarh was not cooperating with the Government. It was just maintaining its relations with it.⁵⁹

55. Ashraf - us - Sawaneh, pp. 163 -164.

56. AIG, 11 December, 1920, pp. 5-6.

57. Habibur Rahman Khan Sherwani, a Trustee of the M.A.O. College and a scholar in Islamic Theology. He was categorised in the Old Party. Joined the service in Hyderabad State and awarded the title of Nawab Sadar Yar Jang. (Francis Robinson, p. 416)

58. AIG, 6 November, 1920, p. 1.

59. Ibid.

III

As has been discussed in the preceeding pages, the Ali Brothers and the like minded students in Aligarh had created an atmosphere surcharged with the nationalist activities. The Loyalist were perplexed over such developments. To add to their discomfiture, the Ali Brothrs succeeded in persuading Gandhiji (Calcutta 4th September, 1920) to visit Aligarh. Accompanied with Swami Satyadeva, Maulana Azad Subhani, Jan Mohammad⁶⁰ and others, Gandhiji reached Aligarh on 11th October 1920. Gandhiji's presence in Aligarh generated great pressure on the Loyalists. Shaikh Abdullah states the situation and concern of the Loyalists in these words "This caravan reached Aligarh. Gandhi stayed at the house of Amir Mustafa Khan and Ali Brothers stayed at the Old Boys's Lodge with his friends. I asked Dr. Ziauddin Sahib, the Principal (MAO College) that Ali Brothers, Gandhiji and others should not be allowed to enter the College campus because they are coming with the intention to disturb our arrangements."⁶¹ But

60. He was a barister by profession. He had organised a massive immigration (Hijrat) to Afghanistan of the Indian Muslims. Bombay Chronicle, 16 October, 1920.

61. Shaikh Abdullah incorrectly says that Gandhiji came direct from Calcutta. Gandhiji had been in Moradabad on 11th October from where he came to Aligarh. The Collected Works, pp. 344-345. See also, Shamsur Rahman Muhsini, Hayat-i-Abdullah, Aligarh, (ND), pp. 106 - 107.

here Dr. Sahib (Ziauddin) showed weakness. He said if we do so, the students who are with us would rise against us".⁶² It will be noted that Shaikh Abdullah, a Loyalist admits that the students on the Non-Cooperation issue were divided in the College campus and majority of them seems to be supporting the Nationalist group in joining the Non-Cooperation Movement. Shaikh Abdullah sincerely felt that students joining the Gandhian way would ruin the College and in turn harm the community. His great concern seems to have made him to refer Dr. Ziauddin's meetings with Gandhiji where the former told the latter "If the students are misled and persuaded to quit the College, it would harm the College and the Muslim Community greatly.". Gandhiji replied, "When there would be our Government we would build a great College. At present we wish to get the College buildings and boardings houses vacated and establish Congress office and lodge Congress volunteer there in".⁶³

The whole statement of Shaikh Abdullah does not seem to be correct. Dr. Ziauddin learnt of Ali Brothers and Gandhi's programme at Lucknow only on 10th October. He dashed to Aligarh. His position was quite delicate. As Principal of the M.A.O. College he had been under the continuous pressure of the Trustees. He however met Gandhiji on the evening of 11th

62. Mushahidat-O-Taassurat, pp. 294 - 295.

63. Ibid.

October and reminded him of his promise made in Delhi in March 1920 that he would issue a manifesto to the students not to participate in active politics. Dr. Ziauddin wished to know from Gandhiji the cause for this changed stand. Gandhiji replied that the Hunter Commission Report and the terms of the Treaty for Peace with Turkey had greatly influenced his opinion. Dr. Ziauddin then objected to Gandhiji's direct appeal to the students without the consent of the Trustees, teachers and the Principal. Gandhiji said that from educational point of view he would not support his attitude but for higher political reasons he would reject such educational principles.⁶⁴ The author of Zia-i-Hayat admits that Gandhiji knew that the Trustees were not to take any risk for the stoppage of the Government grants and the teachers were in general not prepared to take risk for their jobs, hence Gandhiji's appeal was with the students.⁶⁵ It will be noted that Dr. Ziauddin does not refer to Gandhiji's saying of construction of a greater College after the establishment of his government. Moreover such statements are alien to Gandhiji's style of politics.

Despite opposition to the Loyalists, the Nationalists led by Maulana Mohammad Ali organised a meeting in the afternoon of the 12th October 1920. The Nationalist students of the

64. Mohammad Amin Zubairi, Zia-i-Hayat, Karachi, (ND), pp.

68-69.

65. Ibid.

M.A.O. College gave a memorable reception to Gandhiji. Gandhiji was given the honorary membership of the Union Club.⁶⁶ On this occasion, Maulana Mohammad Ali delivered an impressive speech. He asserted that the Muslims are keen to save Islam, liberate it from the danger and release the Khalifa from slavery, they should join the Hindus and first secure freedom of the country. Regarding Jihad agreed Gandhiji's view that the Indian Muslims did not possess the strength. Mohammad Ali however, agreed that Hijrat was permissible. He emphasised that the students of the M.A.O. College should sever all connection with the British.⁶⁷

Addressing the same meeting, Gandhiji strongly supported Mohammad Ali and exposed the real nature of the British rule and its policy of deviding the Muslims and Hindus on communal lines. He spoke :

" The heart of the Muslim brethren have therefore been deeply pained. The next thing is that the actions of the Government in the Pubjab after passing of the Rowlatt Act have convinced both Hindus and Muslims that it is impossible to get justice from this government..... They made us Hindus and Muslims quarrel among ourselves. They used to speak very ill of Hindus before Muslims and Muslims before Hindus... If Islam

66. Bombay Chronicle, 16 October, 1920.

67. Deptt. of Police, S. No. 16/3, (UPSAL).

is in danger today. Hinduism is also in danger, for if it is Islam's turn today, it will be ours tomorrow..... Both (Hindus and Muslims) have decided that by fighting with the sword they would loose their money, their precious times and they would be enslaved still more, as they do not possess guns and ammunitions in such quantities. We have received no such training from the government.... we are taught the lessons of slavery in the Aligarh College. We should boycott this slavish education. This is my first lesson.... When thirty crore of men combine and organise with a view not to have this government in their midst, it would be impossible for government to remain in India..... We should boycott government Educational Institutions. It is the same for us that we have not as yet left them as the Non-Cooperation Movement has been in existence for some months. We should give up practising as their lawyers. We will become mendicants. We will beg. We will subsist on rice and pulse. We will accept bare bread, but will take our liberty also with it. It is then alone we can be counted among the human beings. No one who is not free can engage himself in devotion to God..... We do not want their titles. We regard thier titles as badges of slavery and want to return them. We do not want to send a single soldier or labourer in their (army). It is our right and no one can use force towards us in this respect.... We are not going to enter their legislative councils... Non-Cooperation is nothing more than sacrifice...

India has to pay seven crore of rupees for cloth and therefore Swadeshi Movement has also been included in this. Non-Cooperation with one means cooperation with others. Unless we have mutual regard for each other we cannot become united or organised".⁶⁸

Swami Satya Deo strengthened Gandhiji's stand on the Non-Cooperation. He said that if they had faith in God they should

68. Deptt. of Police, S. No. 16/3, (UPSAL). Gandhiji's speech reproduced in his Collected Works, Vol. 18, p. 345. refers that Gandhiji on the criticism on the Non-Cooperation being a destructive step admitted; 'This work is certainly destructive, but the weeds which have grown need to be rooted out so that a good crop may be sown'. Gandhiji further questioned the extent of loyalty to the Raj, its bureaucracy and the Union Jack. And finally he allays the apprehension of the students that participation in the Non-Cooperation would lead to the stoppage of Govt. aid". Collected Works, Vol. 18, p. 345. Interestingly in his autobiography Gandhiji refers to his Aligarh visit in few sentences : "A little while after this I was taken by the friends to the Muslim College Aligarh. There I invited the young men to be fakirs for the service of the motherland". M.K. Gandhi, An Autobiography or the Story of My Experiments With Truth, translated by Mahavir Desai, Ahmedabad, 1945, p. 540.

keep before their minds eyes the atrocities committed in the Punjab and oppression practiced on the Muhammadans. He further said that the doctrine of Non-Cooperation was like a stream of nectar flowing in India and asked them to drink it. Then no one has the power to kill. They should think that they were going to repudiate the kingdom of satan and establish the kingdom of God in the country and in the World.⁶⁹ The speeches stirred the students and teachers.⁷⁰

Undoubtedly, Ali Brothers played the key role in mobilizing the students. According to the intelligence report on 12th October 1920, Ali Brothers aroused the sentiments of

69. Deptt. of Police, S. No. 16/3, (UPSAL).

70. The Bombay Chronicle give a contradictory report, it admits that it was a mass(ive) meeting in the Union Club of which Mr. Gandhi was already a member, but it also says that Gandhi's meeting got a poor response. The Aligarh Magazine reciprocates the same giving the reference of Mohammad Ali. But it gives the details of students response that on 12th October the students did not attend the class; and that in the meeting which was being held, Zakir Husain declared to forgo his scholarship. For details see the Bombay Chronicle, 16 October, 1920; The Aligarh Magazine, Special Number, 1953-54, 1954-55, pp. 271 - 272.

the students and the whole situation was changed.⁷¹

Zakir Husain was the first and foremost who renounced the scholarship and demanded for an independent College⁷². Ali Brothers promised for the independent College and also promised to raise a sum of rupees one crore for the College.⁷³ Seven hundred students decided to leave the M.A.O. College and

71. Deptt-Home-Political, Coll. - 210-216 & KW- Dec-A-1920 (NAI). Shaikh Abdullah says that on 13th October, 1920 a meeting was held in which Ali Brothers appealed students for Non-Cooperation. Mr. Mohammad Ali started weeping and decided to move with a verse -

"Nikalna Khuld Se Adam Ka Sunte Aai The lekin
Bare Be Aabro Hokaar Tere Kooche Se Hum Nikle"

The students became very much grieved. They demanded another College for their study on the condition of leaving the College. See for detail in Mushahidat-0-Taassurat, pp. 295-296, and Hayat-i-Abdullah, pp. 107-109.

72. Abdul Ghaffar Mudholi, Jamia Ki Kahani, Part - I, Delhi, 1964, pp. 21-22. See also, Aligarh Magazine, 1953-54 - 1954-55, p.72.

73. Deptt. Home - Political, Coll. - 59 - Dec - Deposit - 1920 (NAI). See also, Bombay Chronicle, 10 October, 1920.

joined the Movement.⁷⁴ Politics of the M.A.O. College changed adversely for the Loyalists.

The Nationalist Trustees led by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Moazzam Ali, Shaukat Ali, Zahoor Ahmad, Mohammad Ismail Khan, H.M. Moosa Khan and Amir Mustafa sent a requisition to Honorary Secretary M.A.O. College "In view of the open hostilities shown by Britain to Islam in Turkey, ... We therefore call upon you and other Trustees of the College and members of the Muslim University Association to refuse hence forward to receive any aid from the Government or to permit any kind or sort of Government interference, whether directly or indirectly through Allahabad University or any other agency in these institution and we desire to inform all our other colleagues that we are also calling upon the teachers and adult students at Aligarh to withdraw themselves and other students; to withdraw their wards from the College and school on the 29th October 1920 in the event of Trustees refusal to comply with these obvious requirements of the Islamic faith. We therefore request you with the earnestness at our command to take the action we recommend at the earliest possible date and to treat this matter as of the greatest possible urgency."⁷⁵

74. Mushahidat-U-Taassurat, p. 296. See also, Hayat-i-Abdullah, pp. 107 - 109.

75. The Leader, 15 October, 1920. See also, Hayat-i-Abdullah, pp. 104-105, Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, Hayat-i-Ajmal, Aligarh, 1950, pp. 234-235 and Zia-i-Hayat, pp. 69-70.

The students also passed a similar resolution on 13th October 1920 :

1. This meeting of the students of the Aligarh College strongly condemns the attitude adopted by British Government towards Turkey.
2. Approves the suggestion by the Khilafat Committee.
3. Strongly urges the Trustees to stop receiving aid and disaffiliate the College from the Government University.
4. If the Trustees do not agree to this by 29th October students will employ means of their power to turn the College into a national organization under the Khilafat Committee to train young men in Khilafat work and refuse any connection with the Government chartered university.
5. Requests all title holders among the staff to renounce titles and resign honorary Government posts and call upon the Government scholarship holders to refuse to accept the scholarship.⁷⁶

The new uprising in the M.A.O. College turned the table against the Loyalists. College Secretary Syed Mohammad Ali was out of Aligarh at that time and Principal Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad

76. The Leader, 18 October, 1920. See also, The Pioneer, 18 October, 1920, Bombay Chronicle, 26 October, 1920, AlG, 23 October, 1920, pp. 3-4, and Aligarh Magazine, September - October, 1920, Vol. XVII, p. 13.

was left alone to tackle the situation.⁷⁷ The College Trustees were undoubtedly divided. A group with a considerable students support had played an important role into the national politics. The other group of the Trustees still held its support for the British Government. The students and teachers in majority were now for the Non-Cooperation Movement. Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, Principal of the M.A.O. College had no alternative but to close the College and break the solidarity of the College students on the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat issue. Closure of the College was followed by letters and telegrams to the parents of the students ' ... I appeal to you again that in the light of these circumstances you would consider the situation as extremely grave and come up to Aligarh to take charge of your sons and relatives, as I feel that I can not alone bear the burden of whole responsibility.'⁷⁸

The Syndicate of the M.A.O. College dominated by the Loyalists prohibited delivering lectures and addressing students without written permission of the Principal.⁷⁹ The

77. Deptt. of Home - Political, Coll - 210- 216 & KW - Dec - A- 1920, (NAI).

78. The Leader, 20 October, 1920. See also, Bombay Chronicle, 26 October, 1920 and Gail Minault, Khilafat Movement, Delhi. 1982. p. 117.

79. Ibid. 22 October, 1920. & AIG, 20 October, 1920, p.2.

Honorary Secretary Syed Mohammad Ali came and shared the problems with the Principal.⁸⁰ To some extent the Syndicate and the Secretary strengthened the position of the Principal. Response to the Principal's letters and telegrams issued to the parents of the College students, seems to have greatly served the purpose.

About 60 or 70 parents and guardians came at Aligarh and took their wards back home. Initially the College authorities received about 200 telegrams and letters from the parents, disapproving the politics of Ali Brothers and Gandhiji in the College.⁸¹ The college authorities imposed a ban on the entry of Ali Brothers and political activities in the campus, the Nationalist ignoring the ban kept on meeting the students. It seems that a very organised effort was made to break the solidarity of the nationalist students. The Pioneer reported that the Bhopal State withdrew all Bhopal Students. About 200 telegrams and letters have been received from all boys and friends from Gorakhpur, Mirzapur, Behra, Loyalpur, Muzaffarnagar and other places expressing strong disapproval of the incident.⁸²

80. The Leader, 22 October, 1920.

81. The Pioneer, 24 October, 1920.

82. Ibid. Amin Zubairi says that one thousand letters addressed to the Principal in support of his policy and

Many parents stayed in Aligarh. On 21st October, they passed a resolution in support of the College administration urging the Trustees to take effective measures to stop entry of outsiders to the campus with the object of inciting them to politics.⁸³

On 23rd October 1920, Mohammad Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr. M.A. Ansari, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Azad Subhani, Maulvi Abdul Majid of Meerut and Abdul Ghaffar reached Aligarh from Delhi. They were accorded warm reception by the students despite the ban.⁸⁴ They held discussions with the College Khilafat Committee.⁸⁵

After the Maghrib (evening) prayers they declared to lay the foundation of a National University. Maulana Mohammad Ali was designated Principal and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as Head of the religious instructions of the new institution. A list to the College staff was also announced. Initially the name of the new institution was suggested "National Muslim University" to be established on 29th October, 1920. About half of the

only three were recieved in support of Non-Cooperation. Zia-i-Hayat, pp. 70-72.

83. The Pioneer, 24 October, 1920.

84. Ibid. 25 October, 1920.

85. Ibid.

M.A.O. College students decided to join the new National Muslim University where both the Collegiate and High School instructions were to be imparted.⁸⁶

Establishment of the National Muslim University Aligarh evoked the interest in Punjab. Dr. Saifuddin Kitchlew, (Amritsar) and Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, (Lahore) promised every help to the students.⁸⁷ Many other students, like Zafar Husain, Kunwar Muhammad Ashraf were in the forefront on this occasion.⁸⁸ Zakir Husain also took great interest in the new institution. The government to weaken the growing nationalist trends began to lure the talented and promising young students of better employment opportunity. Zakir Husain was thus

86. The Pioneer, 25 October, 1920.

The Aligarh Institute Gazette, contrary to The Pioneer, The Leader and Bombay Chronicle says that Mohammad Ali in his speech criticized Sir Syed Ahmad's educational policy. According to Gazette, Dr. M.A. Ansari said that most of the staff of National Muslim University would be Hindus. It has been also published in Bombay Chronicle, 25 October, 1920. Undoubtedly these were the false points which had been released to woo the students in their favour. AIG, 24 October, 1920, p. 3.

87. The Pioneer, 25 October, 1920.

88. Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1885-1930, pp. 141 - 142.

offered Deputy Collectorship through Dr. Ziauddin, the Principal of M.A.O. College. Zakir Husain rejecting the offer stood firm for the National Muslim University and Nationalism.⁸⁹ Taking cause from the stand of their seniors, many young students courageously wrote to the Principal M.A.O. College expressing that they were prepared to study (in the M.A.O. College) provided it adopted the creed of Nationalism in place of Loyalism. Failing they expressed the willingness to face 'the doom' awaiting their non-cooperator brothers.⁹⁰

Some of the students though under double pressure from parents and the College management were bold enough to raise the voice of their conscience defying authorities. Here a letter from one such students to the Principal, M.A.O. College is revealing :

"My father has forced me to join your College once again, and I have reluctantly bowed to the parental authority. It is a mighty fall indeed, the whole enthusiasm ends in the air.

89. Khurshid Mustafa Rizvi, Hayat-i-Zakir Husain, Delhi, 1949, p. 61.

90. Mushirul Hasan has cited these letters in his works, (1) Nationalism and communal politics in India, 1916-1928, p. 182. (2) Nationalism and communal politics in India, 1885-1930, p. 142. (3) Mohammad Ali : Ideology and Politics, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 55-56.

But you cannot realise under what great mental torture I am labouring today".⁹¹

Contrarily there were instances when the guardian themselves advised their wards to join the National Muslim University, abandoning the Loyalists of the M.A.O. College.⁹² The Intelligence report submitted to the Government during the period indicates great concern for the rise of Nationalist forces in the M.A.O. College campus. In one of its reports, the Intelligence Deptt. expressed satisfaction that the Non-cooperators were not much successful in the city though had exaggerated purposely.⁹³ It further said that there was also no instance of great excitement and the masses were unaffected. In the city only one constable resigned his pension and a vakil Abdul Rahim announced his intention of retiring from practice. But the Intelligence official was alarmed with the situation in the M.A.O. College as Mohammad Ali had got the signature of 200 students who promised him

91. Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-1928, p. 183.

92. The Tribune, 30 October, 1920, writes that a father also donated a sum of Rs. 100/- to the Khilafat Committee on his contribution.

93. Deptt. Home-Political -Coll. 59, Dec. Deposit- 1920, (NAI).

their full support to the Non-Cooperation.⁹⁴ These 200 students (out of 900) were the firm and dedicated lot who kept on supporting the Nationalists despite all pressure from the College Trustees and the Principal.⁹⁵

The situation in the M.A.O. College definitely went out of control of the management. On 27th October the Trustees were called to hold a meeting at Aligarh to deal with the situation created by Gandhiji and Ali Brothers in the campus. This meeting was held in the house of Nawab Muhammad Muzammilullah Khan. Sixty two Trustees from all parts of the country took part in the deliberations. There seems to have been hectic debates. The Trustees who favoured joining the main stream of the National Movement however seem to have been defeated after a more than eight hours meeting.⁹⁶

Of the Trustees voted in favour of Non-Cooperation, were Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, M.A. Ansari, Moazzam Ali, Zahoor Ahmad, Mohammad Ali, Amir Mustafa Khan, Haji Moosa Khan, A.M. Khwaja, Agha Safdar of Sialkot, Ismail Khan, Syed Nasir Husain, T.A.K. Sherwani, Syed Mohammad Khan and Qasim Husain of Hyderabad state services⁹⁷. Forty eight Trustees voted

94 Deptt. Home-Political : Coll. 210 -216 & Kw- Dec. A 1920, (NAI).

95. Ibid.

96. The Poiner, 30 October, 1920.

97. Ibid.

against the Non-Cooperation. Three resolutions were passed in the meeting. The first resolution rejected the proposal to give up the Government grants and to disaffiliate the College. The second resolution emphatically disapproved the action of Shaukat Ali and others in obtaining direct access to the students in defiance of the Principal. The third resolution confirmed the action of the Syndicate, Principal and the staff and expressed disapproval of the Non-Cooperation.⁹⁸ The closure of the College which had already been closed by the Principal was further extended to 30th November by the Turstees.⁹⁹ Even after being defeated on the Khilafat and

98. The Pioneer, 30 October, 1920. See also in The Leader, 30 October, 1920. It is also cited in Bayan of Dr. Ziauddin, Aligarh, (ND), p. 36, Nationalism and Communal politics in India, 1916-1928, of Mushirul Hasan, p. 182 and MAS, Vol. 8, Part II, 1974, p. 186.

99. A Government despatch dated 27th October, 1920, thus reports the situation in the campus : "---- The College has been closed until the 30th November. There is a great gathering of Musalmans. The situation is unwinding itself. I hope that the invaders will be repelled with loss, but the temper of the Musalmans is queer ---- "

Letter of Sir Harcourt Butler to Sir William Vincent, Deptt. of Home-Political, Coll - 210-216 & KW -Dec. -A, 1920, (NAI).

Non- Cooperation issue by the Board of Trustees, Ali Brothers did not gave way. They decided not to leave the College. They also resolved to lay the foundation of a National University at Aligarh on 29th October 1920 to support the Nation call for boycotting educational instituon run and aided by the Birtish Government.¹⁰⁰

M.A.O. College Loyalist group dominating the Syndicate with full Government support was determined to take a firm action against Ali Brothers. The HonoCrary Secretary with full support of Syndicate issued notice to Mohammad Ali asking him to vacate the College premises immediately. He also asked him to withdraw his students and supporters and abstain from holding any meeting within College boundaries.¹⁰¹ The Secretary's notice was taken a challenge by Mohammad Ali. A number of Old Boys also requested him to withdraw peacefully. Mohammad Ali, in the meantime had entrenched himself by taking possession of one wing of the Boarding House and refused to yield.¹⁰²

In the evening of the 28th October a massive meeting was held on the steps of Aligarh City Jama Masjid. About 5000 people were present. Mohammad Ali strongly condemned the

100. Deptt. Home-Political, Coll-210-216 & KW-Dec.A 1920, (NAI).

101. Ibid.

102. The Leader, 30 October, 1920.

actions of the Trustees and their supporters. Mohammad Ali intelligently used his talents and dexterity to win people's sympathies and support. The Khilafat issue had already made a large number of Muslims against the Government. Exploiting the Khilafat sentiments he told the people that they had come with a message of religion which was met with vote of censure by the Trustees.¹⁰³ Emotion ran high and there were loud cries 'Kill Ziauddin' the Principal M.A.O. College.¹⁰⁴ In order to lay the foundation of a National University, Mohammad Ali issued invitation to attend the inaugural ceremony for the National University on 29th October 1920.¹⁰⁵

Now an open confrontation with the M.A.O. College authorities and the Nationalists led by Mohammad Ali was inevitable. Though closure of the College had been officially announced, a number of Nationalist students still held ground in the Hostel. Till then the students of M.A.O. School had not joined the Nationalist students of the College. In order to

103. The Leader, 30 October, 1920.

104. Correspondent of daily 'The Leader' puts a sentence of caution "Mr. Gandhi should note that his supporters were violating the non-violent character of the movement and he should be responsible for all the consequences." The Leader, 31 October, 1920.

105. Ibid.

force all the College and School students, Dr. Ziauddin, the Principal ordered the cutting of electric and water supplies, stoppage of food, forbidding the sweepers from scavenging. He also ordered the locking of hostel rooms. The School students were forced to return home without leave, arbitrarily.¹⁰⁶

The idea of Non-Cooperation became popular. Gandhiji appealed to the parents of Aligarh students to understand the value of the programme and let them allow freedom to their boys from parental boundation. He also advised them to admit their boys in the National Institutions set up by the religious and charitable Hindus and Muslim Funds.¹⁰⁷

Apart from the known Nationalist leaders, there were many student leaders who were on the forefront of the Non-Cooperation Movement in Aligarh. One of them was Kunwar Mohammad Ashraf, a student of B.A., abandoning his education at M.A.O. College, he joined the National Muslim University. Kunwar Mohammad Ashraf was one of the brilliant students of the M.A.O. College. He was opposed to the policy of Loyalism and a great preacher of Nationalism. He commoded great influence among the students including the Hindus. During the

106. The Leader, 31 October, 1920.

107. Young India, 3 November, 1920. It has also been cited in Intelligence Report, Department of Home-Political; Coll-210-216 & KW-Dec. A. 1920, (NAI).

Khilfat and Non-Cooperation Movement in Aligarh, he seized an opportunity to mobilize public opinion. On the occasion of the Milad-un-Nabi, he addressed a 2000 strong audience comprising of both Hindus and Muslims in the Aligarh City Jama Masjid.¹⁰⁸

In view of the importance of the speech, portion of it is being reproduced here :

"The time has now come that the nation which wants you to sit here in peace and tranquility may kill you one day with their tyrant hands like thousands of Muslims and other souls massacred by them....I want to assure you that if you give a slap to the meanest or kick on ordinary Ticket Collector, then you lose all estimation in the eyes of the English but the revered Shaikhul-Islam is sent to the Malta in chains... It is not necessary to Jihad with those accursed (mardogs) who tried to occupy your Haram-e-Ka'aba and those malign who have occupied Najaf, Baghdad and Baitul Muqaddas (Jerusalem) and committed massacre there. God says, "if anyone kills you and you are innocent, you must take revenge". This is the demand that must be ready for Jihad now. We must today be ready and massacre those Haramzadas who are oppressing us you help that Harmazadi Government whose war bounds you purchase so that your Khalifa may be destroyed. ... Now is the time when not only your rule, your honour but even your faith is at

108. Department of Police, Serial No. 16, (UPSAL).

stake..... your own object is to cause the English to suffer so that their feelings be burnt. By the grace of God the British Empire has become such a destructive that you can have a good opportunity to given them a blow..... if you have a sense to unite together you can 'destruct' them very soon... Now when not your nation alone but even your religion and Khilafat are at stake, you have no sense of feeling in you... In short the nation which bombarded the Barrusa Mosque, that Mardood nation which massacred 15000 Turks in Arianople, is the same nation which has outraged modesty of wives and women, which has made over our sisters to the negroes. In short if you can not bring your revenging power into passion, it is matter of regret. Bretheren what passion ? you must be ready for Jihad just at this very moment.¹⁰⁹

The Khilafat leaders made every effort to arouse religious zeal of the Muslims in favour of Khalifa. In the meantime Mustafa Kamal set up a Nationalist party called the People's Party. He set up a Nationalist Government in Ankara. He compelled the Italian troops to quit southern Anatolia and expelled the French troops from Cilicia. He overthrew the recently established Armenian republic. He also expelled not only the Greek soldiers but every Greek inhabitant from Asia Minor.¹¹⁰

109. Department of Police, Serial No. 16 (UPSAL).

110. Sir Harry Luke, The Old Turkey and the New, London, 1955, pp. 162-164.

Mustafa Kamal's victory gave a strong moral support to the Khilafat leaders in India. All India Khilafat Conference of Karachi in 1921 congratulating Mustafa Kamal and his national government for glorious victories. On the occasion, seven leading Khilafat leaders viz. the Ali Brothers, Maulana Husain Ahmad (Madani), Dr. Saifuddin Kichlu, Pir Ghulam Mujaddid, Maulvi Nisar Ahmad and Bharti Krishna Tirathji alias Venkataraman delivered speeches asking the Muslims not to join the British Army. The Government took a serious note of it and criminal proceedings instituted against them.¹¹¹

111. Mirza Abdul Ghaffar Beg, Karachi Ka Tarikhi Muqadma, Lucknow, 1985, p. 207.

CHAPTER - III

PATTERN OF EDUCATION IN ALIGARH, 1919-1922

I

Sir Syed had conceived the establishment of a Vernacular University in 1869.¹ He abandoned this idea after his visit to England. The Cambridge University greatly impressed him.² He resolved to lay the foundation of such educational institution which could fulfil the demand of the time and extricate the Muslims from the dogmas of the past. His eyes were set on Scientific modern education which ultimately led to the establishment of the M.A.O. School/College at Aligarh. The Syed's idea of the development of the College and expansion as the University was strengthened by his son Syed Mahmood.³

Thus, as Mohammad Ali rightly observed in 1911 that Aligarh was not only the ideological symbol of educational cultural and political aspirations for the Muslims but a centre of future renaissance. Optimistic hoped that all roads would lead one day to Aligarh as all roads led in the hey-days of Islam to Cordova and Baghdad. The College would then be Islamic Oxford of India.⁴ Sir Syed Ahmad Khan had a dream that

1. Altaf Husain Hali, Hayat-i-Jawed, Lahore, 1957, pp.187-90.

2. Ibid. p. 211.

3. Ibid. p. 245-246.

4. The Comrade, 14 and 28 January 1911, cited in Nationalism and Communal Politics in India, 1916-1928, p. 58.

the M.A.O. College should become a University on the line of Oxford and Cambridge, could not be transformed into a reality during his life time.

Sir Syed Memorial Fund was started under the leadership of Nawab Muhsinul Mulk and raised the M.A.O. College to the status of University.⁵ Theodore Beck the Principal of the M.A.O. College whose imperial Loyalism is too well known took advantage of Muslims concern for the establishment of a University. Beck played with their sentiments. He suggested to Mir Vilayat Husain that the Muslim should promote the idea of establishing a University. The Hindus who possessed wealth and education had no University. The Muslims would have their own University and the M.A.O. College would be elevated to that position.⁶ Beck's idea is quite understandable in the political scenario. Establishment of the Muslim League (1906) and dream of the establishment of a University were used as invisible blockades over a section of Muslims in joining the National politics.

Apparently the University Movement received a set back owing to the Lt. Governor U.P's interference in the M.A.O. College affairs over Urdu-Hindi controversy. The changing political scenario in the wake of the partition of Bengal

5. Aligarh Magazine, September-October 1920, Vol. XVII, p. 28.

6. Mir Vilayat Husain, Aap Biti, Aligarh, 1970, p. 160.

seems to have made a shift in Government attitude. We have no conclusive evidence to say but the circumstantial evidence lead us to infer that Sir Agha Khan was prompted by the British bureaucracy in India to encourage the Muslims for a movement to establish a Muslim University. This inference is further strengthened when we see the role of Sir Agha Khan, who responding the Viceroy's call abandoning his voyage rushed to India to lead the Shimla Deputation. The British Government in India was thus clearly playing with emotional issues of the Indian Muslims. But it was not sincere to grant the M.A.O. College a status of University. Lord Curzon by appointing an Education Commission had secured a heavy condition for raising a large fund for the establishment of the University. The M.A.O. College members had succeeded in raising a sum of Rs. 2½ lakhs for the University whereas the target was to raise at least Rs. 10 lakhs.⁷

The recommendation of the Education Commission appointed by Lord Curzon had also prescribed a hard condition of raising a huge amount for the establishment of a University. Consequently, financial difficulties caused a set back to the University Movement. Tufail Ahmand who was an eye witness of the University Movement says that in 1910, Sir Agha Khan suggested to raise the required amount by 1911, so that the occasion of king's visit to India could be fully used by

7. Hayat-i-Aftab, pp. 74-75.

securing a charter from him for the establishment of the University.⁸

If we take the example of Mir Vilayat Husain in totality, it would appear that on the eve of King's visit to India in 1911, the British Government in India asked both the Hindus and Muslims to raise a sum of Rs. 30 lakhs, so that they could be granted a charter for the University.⁹ Sir Agha Khan played an important role in the University Movement. He made an extensive tour of the country to raise money.¹⁰ In February 1911 the Muslim University Foundation Committee was founded.¹¹

The same year a Constitution Committee was also made and Raja of Mahmoodabad was selected President. Syed Ali Bilgrami was assigned the responsibility of Secretaryship and Dr. Ziauddin was made Joint Secretary. After the death of

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8. Roshan Mustaqbil, pp.220-22. The author of Hayat-i-Aftab adds that in the Nagpur session of Educational Conference, Sir Agha Khan gave the call to raise a sum of 30 lakhs for University. Hayat-i-Aftab, pp. 74-75.
9. Aap Biti, p. 161. See also Roshan Mustaqbil, pp. 220-222, (with slight variation).
10. Roshan Mustaqbil, pp.220-22, Mir Vilayat Husain says that Agha Khan came from England for the purpose. Aap Biti, p. 161 .
11. Fikr-o-Nazr, Vol. II, p. 154.

Bilgrami, Dr. Ziauddin became the Secretary.¹² On 10th May 1911, Aftab Ahmad Khan, Viqarul Mulk and Dr. Ziauddin went to Shimla (September 7) to meet Sir Harcourt Butler the Education Member of the Viceroy's Council. Raja of Mahmoodabad was already present there and he joined the Deputation. They expressed Muslim's demand of having an autonomous University as they needed religious education very much and without religious education there could not be independent and complete education.¹³

After securing the draft of the constitution Sir Harcourt Butler observed that in the Indian Universities the Viceroy enjoyed great powers as a Chancellor. He could appoint 80% staff and even Vice-Chancellor. This power should be given to the Viceroy (Chancellor) by the persons interested in the establishment of the Muslim University also.¹⁴

Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan differed with Butler on the ground that other Universities were not the National (gaumi) Universities. There was a distinct disagreement between the Government and the Muslim Deputationist on the University issue. The British Government in India, however seems not to

12. Hayat-i-Abdullah, pp. 95-97. Shaikh Abdullah and Aftab Ahmad Khan were also the member of the Committee.

13. Hayat-i-Aftab, pp. 80-87.

14. *Ibid.*

precipitate the issue as the date of the Imperial Darbar (Delhi) was very close where far reaching policy announcement was to be made. Butler, to win the confidence of the Deputationist assured them on 4th December 1911 that they must get a Muslim University provided they could raise the required amount.¹⁵ After the successful termination of the Delhi Darbar, the British bureaucracy changed its stand on the Muslim University issue. The Aligarh people were still in the impression that the promises made by Butler would be honoured if the Muslims fulfilled the condition. On 9th August 1912 Sir Harcourt Butler sent a telegram to Raja of Mahmoodabad informing the decision of the Secretary of State for India that :

- (i) "The proposed Muslim University would have no power of affiliating other Colleges."
 - (ii) "The proposed University would be named as Aligarh University not the Muslim University."
 - (iii) "The Viceroy would not be the Chancellor of the University but the powers which have been agreed to be confined on the Viceroy as Chancellor would be given to the Government of India (Viceroy's Council)."
 - (iv) "In the Council of the Trustees of the University, Government would have the representation."
-

15. Hayat-i-Aftab, pp. 80-87.

(v) 'The secretary of State would exercise the power to change or amend the scheme of the University.'¹⁶

The changed attitude of the Government caused a great set back to the Movement. It may be recalled that the Muslims attitude of Loyalism had already changed over the years. In Aligarh the Young Nationalists were already raising doubts over the Government's sincerity towards the Indian Muslims and insisting for working on common platform consisting of all the people of India to fight together against the British Imperialism. These Nationalists at Aligarh stood against the Government. Now there were more adherents to their ideology.

In order to promote the University Movement an important meeting of the Muslim University Foundation Committee was convened for 26 July 1913, Viqar-ul-Mulk could not attend owing to serious ailment. He however, sent his all good wished for the success of the meeting and denounced the Government conditions.¹⁷

Viqar-ul-Mulk's stand on the University affairs is standable. His suggestion regarding the denouncement of the Government's terms, was largely accepted. The trustees were

16. Hayat-i-Aftab, pp. 90-91. See also, H.K. Sherwani, The Aligarh Movement, A.M.U., 1969, p. 43, (Hereafter cited as Sherwani), Hayat-i-Abdullah, pp. 96-97.

17. Hayat-i-Abdullah, pp. 97-98. See also, Sherwani, p. 45.

unwilling to yield to Government's condition. This led to Government's apathy towards the University issue.

It is however remarkable that while Viqar-ul-Mulk and the Trustees of the M.A.O. College were firm not to drop the word 'Muslim' from the proposed University, they maintained Sir Syed's secular traditions in the proposed University. The M.A.O. College Trustees and Viqar-ul-Mulk had in principle resolved that the doors of the University shall remain open for each and every community of India without any religious prejudices ¹⁸ (Thanks God, the tradition still continues). The religious instructions were, however, to be arranged for the Muslims. Viqar-ul-Mulk in his suggestions made a very bold assertion, "Now there is not that age that we should concede to the opinion of the British officers considering it as God's mandates. The British Government should also not forget its own position that its strength did not lay in power but was based on justice and fair play."¹⁹ On the question of affiliation, Viqar-ul-Mulk reiterated Sir Syed's views, "the question of affiliation is of great importance. Government's access and interference in the internal affairs of the University is against the principal of Sir Syed and Syed Mahmood. In fact it would affect the functioning of the University. In no way the rights of Chancellorship should be

18. Hayat-i-Aftab, pp. 97-98.

19. *Ibid.*

given to the Governor General or his Council.²⁰

The University Movement gained a momentum. Interestingly, the Orthodox section of the Muslim Community, the Ulama, who were generally in the forefront and opposed the acquisition of modern education in Sir Syed's age, were now extending full support to the University Movement. According to Aziz Mirza an Urdu writer and a contemporary observed that the very sect of the Muslim Ulama organised and favoured the cause of the University. Prominent among them were Maulvi Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal, Syed Jamat Ali Shah (Sunni), Syed Mohammad Husain (Shia), Maulvi Sayeed Mohammad Husain (Ahl-i-Hadith) and Maulana Nooruddin (Ahmadia) enthusiastically favoured the Muslim University campaign.²¹

While an active section of the Muslims was fighting for the establishment of an autonomous Muslims University, the Hindu intellectuals led by Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia also launched a movement for the establishment of a Hindu University. The out break of the First World War and Turkey's position greatly affected the Muslim University Movement. By and large majority of the Muslims was against Britain and they harboured all sympathies for the Turks. The British Government

20. Hayat-i-Aftab, pp. 97-98.

21. Mirza Mohammad Aziz, Muslim University Aur Uske Maqasid, Aligarh, (ND), pp. 10-12.

had not relaxed its conditions for the establishment of the Muslim University.

Meanwhile Pandit Madan Mohan Malvia accepted the terms of the Government after some modifications. As a result the Banaras Hindu University Act was passed on 1st October 1915, and the foundation stone of the University was laid by the Viceroy Lord Harding, on 4th February 1916.²² The establishment of the Hindu University might have incited Muslims envy. But the Muslims were more concerned for the Turkey and the religious places of Islam. Hence they could not devote much attention to the University issue.

After the termination of the 1st World War (1919) the Muslim University campaign was again revived. In its issue of 8 January 1919, the AIG observed that the greatest enemy of the Muslims was ignorance. Praising Sir Agha Khan for his endeavours for the establishment of the Muslim University, the AIG expected that the dream of Sir Syed was likely to become a reality.²³

In order to accelerate the Muslim University campaign, a session of Muslim University Association was held in Aligarh on 15 October 1919, under Presidentship Raja of Mahmoodabad. The matter was debated among the Muslims. Most of the Muslims

22. Sen, p. 33.

23. AIG, 8 January, 1919, pp. 11-14.

were anxious to establish the University as soon as it could be possible. Shaikh Abdullah was keen that the University issue should not be delayed further over the dispute of its control by the State Government or the Imperial Government. Raja of Mahmoodabad however disagreed and strongly supported that the University must be under the over all supervision of the Imperial Government.²⁴

An important session of the Muslim University Association was held at Aligarh (January 1920). The resolutions passed was mainly devoted to the establishment of the University. It was also observed that the Muslims were greatly suffering due to delay in this affair which was likely to be aggravated after the Calcutta University Commission Report, Decca University Bill and the publication of the proposals for the establishment of the Lucknow University.²⁵

Aligarh elites were thus, quite active for the establishment of a Muslim University. The current political situation also made the British aristocracy to think to devise means to alienate Muslims specially in Aligarh. During the past seven-eight years, the Loyalist at Aligarh had lost ground to the Nationalist considerably. In the subsequent meetings to attract the common passion of the Muslim, it was

24. AIG, 15 October, 1919, p. 4.

25. AIG, 24 January, 1920, pp. 1-5.

repeatedly announced that the proposed Muslim University curriculum would include such subjects which could fulfil the religious demands of the Muslims.²⁶ Such pronouncements were needless as Sir Syed had already taken care of this and the Departments of Islamic Studies and Sunni/Shia Theology existed. It will thus be seen that the British bureaucracy used as a handle to control the Muslim elites (specially of Aligarh) on the Muslim University issue to preserve the Imperial interest. It in turn also accelerated a competition between the protagonists of Hindu and Muslim Universities.

II

The University Movement was in progress. The College had been cleared of the political tensions due to efforts of Dr. Ziauddin, the Principal of the College. Meanwhile in October 1920, another event had took place in the college which has been already mentioned in Chapter II.

A full preparation was made to establish the National Muslim University at Aligarh by the Nationalists. On 28th October 1920, a meeting was held on the steps of the Aligarh Jama Masjid at the Upper Kot. Ali Brothers and other National leaders invited the Hindus and Muslims to attend the inaugural meeting of the National Muslim University which was going to

26. AIG, 11 February, 1920, pp. 7-8.

be held on 29th October 1920 in the M.A.O. College Mosque.²⁷

On 29th October, about 2000 persons were present in the College Mosque. They came from every community. Such a strong gathering invited the jealousy of the AIG which published a rather partisan report as the people came to 'Gandhi's darshan' because it was the rumour that the latter was also one of the invitees.²⁸ Shaikhul Hind Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan alongwith Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana Shabbir Ahmad participated in the meeting on the invitation of Mohammad Ali.²⁹

After Friday's prayer, the inauguration ceremony of an independent Muslim University was made. Mohammad Ali was given the title of 'Maulana'. During the course of his speech Mohammad Ali advised that the Muslim should either perform Jihad or Hijrat. He however realized that all Muslim could not perform Hijrat so he emphasised on Jihad. Mohammad Ali explained that the Jihad could be done by adopting the Non-Cooperation. He criticised the Government as a Satan (Devil) and said that those cooperated with the Government were their associates or Satan. He also said that if the College was closed then there would be no problem, we would resume

27. AIG, 30 October, 1920, p. 1. See also in Zia-i-Hayat, p.

73.

28. AIG, 30 October, 1920, p. 1.

29. Ali Biradran, p. 102.

teaching on the mats. If there was no arrangement for a safai-wala (sweeper), I will clean the toilet. The education of science was not in any way better than the education of God.³⁰ Maulana Hasrat Mohani declared that those Trustees who were against Non-Cooperation should be regarded expelled from Islam³¹. Hakim Ajmal Khan and Haji Moosa Khan also addressed the meeting. Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan started to read his address but he could not do so because he was keeping a very bad health. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad of Deoband completed his address.³²

Maulana's address strongly criticised the way, the modern education was being imparted in Aligarh, making the Muslims, Christians or devoted and loyal to the Raj. He thus urged the Muslims to think of the evil consequences of such a system to give heed to Gandhiji's call.³³ Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan also expressed the hope that the National Muslim University (Jamia Millia) would reconcile the English education of Aligarh and religious education of Deoband.³⁴

30. AIG, 30 October, 1920, p. 2.

31. Ibid.

32. The Leader, 1 November, 1920.

33. Aligarh Magazine, 1953-54-1954-55. pp. 272-273, See also Ali Biradran, p. 102, Hayat-i-Zakir Husain, pp. 66-68, and Jamia-Ki-Kahani, pp. 26-27.

34. MAS, Vol. 8, Part 2, 1974, pp. 187-188.



At the same historic meeting of 29th October 1920 the name of the National Muslim University was changed to Jamia Millia Islamia. Maulana Mohammad Ali was designated to the first Vice-Chancellor. Later on Abdul Majid Khwaja became its Vice-Chancellor.³⁵

Admission was started in the University, Trustees and the Old Boys requested the Nationalists to leave the College but they said that they would serve God from that very place as it could not be stopped untill they were evicted by force.³⁶ The adamant attitude of Maulana Mohammad Ali and his associates was annoying the Trustees and the Honorary Secretary of the College. It was resolved that Maulana Mohammad Ali be dealt with sternly. Consequently, the Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College wrote to Maulana Mohammad Ali : "..... In exercise of power vested in me under section 90 of the rule ground not to hold any kind of meeting..... not to address the students within the boundaries of the College ground after receipt of this notice."³⁷

Responding to the later Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote "... The work which has brought me here is God's work and I am acting in obedience to His Commandment. I cannot therefore

35. Hayat-i-Zakir Husain, p. 68

36. AIG, 1 November, 1920, p. 2

37. The Leader, 4 November, 1920

carry out your request which intervenes these Commandments.³⁸

Almost at the same time the Principal, M.A.O. College also wrote to Mohammad Ali that he was staying in the College without the permission of the appropriate authority which was against the Rule 159 of the regulations of the Trustees. He also levelled charges against Mohammad Ali that he had broken open some of the locked rooms of the Pakka Barrack, which was against the peaceful withdrawal of which repeated assurances had been given. He urged upon Mohammad Ali to leave the College precincts immediately and withdraw all students who were under his influence.³⁹ As usual Mohammad Ali replied, refuting the allegation that he was responsible for breaking the locks of the rooms of the Pakka Barrack. He also repudiated to have departed from the assurances given by him to the College authorities. He thus requested to comply with the request contained in his letter.⁴⁰

In the evening of 30th October 1920, a deputation of 40 people including Old Boys and Trustees met Maulana Mohammad Ali and requested him to leave the College. But he said that without police or forcible eviction he would not leave the College.⁴¹

38. The Leader, 4 November, 1920.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid.

41. Zia-i-Hayat, pp. 74-75.

The management of the M. A. O. College thus could not succeed to persuade Mohammad Ali. At last the Honorary Secretary of the College requested the District Magistrate Mr. Campbell for the assistance in this affair.⁴² In the morning of 31st October the District Magistrate arrived in the College. Mohammad Ali was virtually ordered under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code to vacate the Old Boy's Lodge alongwith his followers including Maulana Abdul Majid. Maulana Mohammad Ali avoiding further confrontation decided to vacate the Collge.⁴³

A caravan of 110 to 150 student left the College to whom they considered much dearer than their home. In the front a student led a green flag on which Kalma Tayyaba was written.⁴⁴ They took their baggage to "Krishna Kothi" hired by Khwaja Abdul Majeed. Some more private buildings were hired for the stay of the student.⁴⁵

42. Hayat-i-Abdullah, pp. 105-106.

43. The Tribune, 3 November, 1920.

44. Jamia Ki Kahani, p. 25.

45. They also occupied a three or four roomed building which was named as "Mahmood Court" by students. Nawab Ismail Khan of Meerut hired few tents which was placed on the front of the Mahmood Court. Ali Biradran, pp. 104-106, Hayat-i-Abdullah, p. 106, Jamia Ki Kahani, p. 25, Zia-i-Hayat, p. 75.

A number of students of the Islamia College Lahore and Peshawar also came to Aligarh for admission to the National Muslim University.⁴⁶ As a result two thatched buildings were raised and a Hall with the same material was constructed and called 'Mohammad Ali Hall'.⁴⁷ Further arrangements were made to receive the incoming students seeking admission to the newly set up University, at the Railway Station.⁴⁸

Maulana Mohammad Ali prepared hastily a syllabus and himself started teaching of English language and the Modern History.⁴⁹ Some senior students with good academic career were also appointed Lecturers like Zakir Husain, Noorullah, Saiyed Mohammad, Rauf Pasha and others. Among the teachers who adopted Non-Cooperation, appointed, were Maulana Aslam, Maulana Rashid Ahmad, Hafiz Faiyaz Ahmad, Abdul Karim Faruqi. Some other teachers were called from outside to manage the teaching work of the National Muslim University.⁵⁰ In order to attract experienced and highly qualified teachers to serve the National University, the authorities offered them very handsome salaries. Prof. Hadi Hasan a great teacher of

46. Home-Political, Coll-210-216 & KW. Dec-A, 1920 (NAI) See also Ali Biradran, p. 108.

47. Ali Biradran, p. 108.

48. The Tribune, 3 November, 1920.

49. Hayat-i-Zakir Husain, p. 68.

50. Jamia-Ki-Kahani, p. 26.

the Muslim University, who was at home in English and Persian literature accepting the offer, joined the National University or the Jamia.⁵¹

But the Jamia had a legal problem. It could neither award degrees nor assure to provide jobs to its students. The Jamia however taught its students to fight against Untruth and sacrifice everything for the Truth.⁵² The students were trained much for political purposes than academic purposes. They were taught of the religious background of the Khilafat Movement, the need of Indian Freedom, method of Non-Cooperation and ways of collecting funds for the institution.⁵³

III

When the campaign for the raising of M.A.O. College to the status of a Muslim University was in progress, the Act of 1919, was passed. It placed the University education under the control of Provincial Government. This shattered completely the perception of the protagonist of the University that the Muslim University after its establishment would enjoy an All India Status.⁵⁴ Fortunately Sir Mohammad Shafi an old Loyalist

51. Ali Biradran, pp. 113-114.

52. Aligarh Magazine, 1953-54-1954-55, p. 274.

53. Gail Minault, p. 118.

54. MAS, Vol. 8, Part - 2, 1974, p. 184.

of Aligarh was Education Member in the Viceroy's Council. He came to Aligarh and had a discussion with Sharp (Secretary, Department of Education) and Dr. Wali Ahmad (Asstt. Secretary, Department of Education) on 23rd and 24th March, 1920.

As a result of these discussions a few amendments were made in the proposed Constitution of the University. These amendments were approved by University Association. The Honorary Secretary published a statement : "This Constitution is more liberal than the Constitution of the Hindu University and Decca University and there is no hope to get a better Constitution than this."⁵⁵

The supporters of the foundation of the University agreed that the University Bill should be delayed and to wait till the situations became favourable for its placement before the Central Legislative Council.⁵⁶ The proposed Muslim University Constitution was, thereafter, sent to the Indian Government. In July 1920, Secretary of State for India approved the Muslim University Constitution which was subsequently published in the Government Gazette.⁵⁷ In the meantime Syed Mohammad Ali, Secretary of the College and Muslim University Association was given the additional membership of the Central

55. Zia-i-Hayat, p. 83.

56. MAS, Vol. 8, Part-2, 1974, pp. 184-85.

57. Zia-i-Hayat, p. 83.

Legislative Council so that he could fully represent the Bill whenever introduced.⁵⁸

On the occasion of the special session of the League, Khilafat and Congress sessions were held at Calcutta in the early days of September 1920. Sir Mohammad Shafi and Aligarh authorities had good reason for putting the Aligarh Muslim University Bill in the Central Legislative Council.⁵⁹ The Muslim University Bill came for discussion, Syed Mohammad Ali defending the Bill delivered a memorable speech:

"It is nearly 10 years ago that the Muhammadan were first promised their University. My Lord Aligarh was the first Institution in this country which followed the best residential system of the Public Schools of England. It is the matter of History that the Banaras Constitution was modelled on the lines of proposed Constitution of Aligarh and that of Decca does not introduce any new ideas except slight changes in the nomenclature.

Ever since the first definite proposal for the University were made the whole controversy has mainly centred round two points - Firstly the extent of jurisdiction of the University and Secondly, the Government control. About the first, the Muslim Community was compelled to accept that there would be

58. Zia-i-Hayat, p. 83.

59. MAS, Vol. 8, Part-2, 1974, p. 185.

no room in future for affiliating type of University but about the latter community favoured for autonomous University.

My Lord, without real power there can be no sense of responsibility and without responsibility there can be no efficiency."⁶⁰

The report of the Select Committee was placed in the Indian Legislative Council on 2nd September 1920.⁶¹ On 9th September 1920 Sir Mohammad Shafi spoke "Sir, after having a careful study of the Indian political conditions I have arrived at the conclusion that the backwardness of his community was due to their neglect of Modern Education -----
-----".⁶²

The bill was passed and the Government of India assured the yearly aid of one lakh of rupees.⁶³ His Excellency the Viceroy Congratulated the Muslim Community on the passage of the Bill.⁶⁴ The Honourable Sir D.P. Sarbadhikari said - "Sir, I congratulate my Muslim fellow subjects upon "the appointed time" having arrived upon the approaching materialization of

60. AIG, 1 September, 1920, pp. 10-12.

61. Ibid. 8 September, 1920, p. 2.

62. Pro-ILC, Vol. LIX, p. 79. (UPSLL).

63. AIG, 15 September, 1920, p. 1. See also Aligarh Magazine, Sept.- Oct. 1920, Vol. XVII, p. 12.

64. AIG, 15 September, 1920, p. 2.

an educational organization of their own for which they have long been waiting ----".⁶⁵ Honourable Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee also congratulated on the passage of the Bill.⁶⁶

The Act of Muslim University was something different from the Act of Banaras Hindu University. The Governor-General in Council held the right to direct the removal of any member of the teaching staff.⁶⁷ Whereas in the Muslim University Act 1920, clause 23/2 the court was given supreme governing authority and exercise of all powers of the University. It had the power to review the acts of the Executive and Academic Councils.⁶⁸ It also had powers of appointment and dismissal of the members of the teaching staff.⁶⁹

According to clause 12/1 the University had the power to establish and maintain Intermediate Colleges and Schools within the Aligarh District as may be laid down in the Ordinances, for the purpose of preparing students for admission to the University, and may provide for instructions in the Muslim religion and Theology in any such Colleges and Schools.⁷⁰

65. Pro-ILC, Vol. LIX, p. 85 (UPSLL).

66. Ibid. p. 89.

67. AIG, 29 September, 1920, p. 3.

68. Muslim University Act of 1920, p. 15 (MALA).

69. AIG, 29 September, 1920, p. 3.

70. Muslim University Act of 1920, p. 11 (MALA).

Regarding promotion of Oriental and Islamic studies, the University had the power to give instruction to the Muslims in Muslim Theology and religion.⁷¹

The Muslim University Act, was to come into force from 1 December, 1920. According to the provisions of the Act Sultan Jahan Begum of Bhopal became the first Chancellor, Raja Sahib Mahmoodabad became first Vice-Chancellor and Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad became the first Pro-Vice Chancellor. When the College was opened on 1st December, 1920, it was in the form of a University.

The Muslim University, so founded, had a complete domination of the Loyalists who took all care to ensure that the institution was free from the Nationalist students. In a well thought out plan the students were divided into three sections :

- (A) Non-Cooperators
- (B) Doubtful
- (C) Cooperators

Admission cards were first sent to those students who had Cooperated with the College authorities. The cases of doubtful students were considered about Xmas holidays and they were also called. No Non-Cooperating students were admitted without

71. Muslim University Act of 1920, p. 8 (MALA)

a written guarantee from the parents.⁷² About 325 admission cards were sent.⁷³ The strict policy of the Muslim University authorities caused considerable anxieties among the parents of the Non-cooperator students. They wrote a larger number of letter denying connections of their wards with the Non-Cooperation. They made a lot of excuses and condemned the Non-cooperators.

It seems that many students who had taken part in the Non-Cooperation also gave way under the pressure of their parents. The cases of such few students cited here by way of illustration. A student Nurul Hasan wrote to the Principal "----- Now I am fully convinced that I am wrong in adopting the Non-Cooperation ----- I hope, you will be kind enough to consider my case favourably -----".⁷⁴

A student Abdur Rahman of Faridkot writes, " ---I never joined National College ---- I am very sorry of past behaviour and promised that in future I would not behave in a similar way. My life is being spoiled and I am on your mercy".⁷⁵

Another student Rashid Ahmad of Hyderabad wrote, "-----
I was forced to adopt the role of so called Non-cooperator ---

72. File No. XX/42, 1920-21, (AA).

73. Zia-i-Hayat, p. 75.

74. File No. 1, 1920-21, (AA).

75. Ibid.

- kindly inform at an early date to the exact date by which I should return to Aligarh".⁷⁶

K.B. Mohammad Abdul Karim Khan Kundi, a Divisional and Session Judge wrote, "----- My son Abdul Hamid Khan Kundi is a 3rd year student of your College, I ask you kindly to forgive him and allow him to continue his studies in your College".⁷⁷

Thus in Aligarh two Universities were functioning in December 1920. One was held by the Loyalists with full Government support and the other, the Jamia. Although there were two Universities in Aligarh with two different ideologies and the management of the Loyalist group was trying to maintain a strict vigil, the students of the two Universities continued to maintain a cordial relationship by visiting one another's places. This was soon taken up seriously by the Loyalists. Thus the Muslim University authorities wrote to Maulana Mohammad Ali, "My dear Maulana Sahib, ---- some of your students have been visiting to the boarding houses attached to this institution ---- you kindly warn all your students again and prohibit them from entering the premises of this institution and to avoid a friction with the students here."⁷⁸

76. File No. 1, 1920-21, (AA).

77. Ibid.

78. File No. XX/45, 1920-21, (AA).

It transpires that some of the Muslim University authorities were also deadly opposed to the students of the National Muslim University coming to the Muslim University Mosque for prayers. They alleged that the students and others were creating disturbances in the University Mosque during the prayer time.⁷⁹

The division between the Nationalists and the Loyalists was thus complete. On 15th December 1920, the inaugural ceremony of the Aligarh Muslim University was scheduled to be held. The designated Vice-Chancellor Raja of Mahmoodabad though a Loyalist extended invitation to Maulana Mohammad Ali to participate in the ceremony but he later declined the offer.⁸⁰

The Muslim University began to function. English literature, History, Maths, Economics, Philosophy, Arabic, Persian, Physics were the principal subjects to be taught in the Post graduate classes. A degree courses in Law was also started. Urdu and Theology were also to be taught upto graduation level.⁸¹

79. File No. XX/45, 1920-21, (AA).

80. Shan Muhammad, Unpublished Letters of the Ali Brothers, Delhi, 1979, pp. 217-21.

81. AlG, 30 May, 1923.

Although Raja of Mahmoodabad was the Vice-Chancellor but most of the time he was out of station. In his absence, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad, the Pro - Vice-Chancellor carried the responsibility of the Vice-Chancellor and took decisions.

CHAPTER - IV

CONCLUSION

The present study is an attempt to analyse the role of the students, teachers and Trustees of the M.A.O. College during the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement.

The founder of the M.A.O. College from the very beginning followed a policy of near Loyalism. This policy was based on personal experiences and the sufferings of the Muslims in pursuing a policy of confrontations since the Plassy disaster. The Muslims as a consequence of this policy had not only lost their political sovereignty but also became economically and socially backward. To uplift the Muslims educationally, socially and materially, the founder had no alternative but to pursue the policy of Loyalism with caution.

To be fair to Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of the M.A.O. College, his Loyalism to the Raj was based on expediency. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was personally very cautious and he did not allow to subordinate his community's interest to the profession of Loyalism. This was the feeling which made him to refuse the intervention of Public Instructor, in the M.A.O. College affairs. Similarly he strictly forbade the Muslims to participate in the politics. The memories of the Rebellion of 1857-58 always haunted him and he held an unshakable view that the British rule was perpetual and hence policy of Loyalism was inevitable for the Muslims. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan thus pursued the policy of no confrontation and

Loyalism to the British.

The Syed's policy, though successful in his time, unfortunately led to excessive dependence on the British. As long as he was alive, he maintained a remarkable balance between power and politics. Soon after his death, Government influences in the M.A.O. College affairs increased. It transpires that thereafter the M.A.O. College authorities were confined to protect College interest. In 1906, the British attitude, however, changed. The British bureaucracy in conjunction with the British Principal of the M.A.O. College played an important role in alienating the Muslim elites throwing bait of 'Muslim University' and 'right of separate electorate' to the Muslims. Consequently most of the old leaders of the Muslim Community were won over and made loyal to the British.

M.A.O. College was now under the complete control of the British through the Loyalists. The Loyalists, however, began to face stiff opposition from emerging young nationalist elements in the M.A.O. College. Prominent among them were Ali Brothers, Hasrat Mohani, Chaudhari Khaliquzzaman, Zafar Ali Khan etc.

The British policy towards Turkey followed by the Tripoli and Balkan Wars further weakened the Loyalists at Aligarh. The emerging Nationalists from the M.A.O. College sent a Medical Mission to Turkey led by Dr. Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari to help the

injured. For the first time in the history of Modern India, Muslim women also came forward and took part against the British. The Turkish issue further accelerated anti-British feelings among the Indian Muslims specially at the M.A.O. College. Soon it led to the formation of two groups i.e. the Loyalists and the Nationalist within the M.A.O. College campus.

Meanwhile British Government showed little inclination in fulfilling the demand of the Muslims for the establishment of the Muslim University. While the Loyalists had still faith in the sense of justice and fair play of the British, the Nationalist Muslims at the M.A.O. College had no such illusions. They began to expose the British attitude towards the Muslims. To some extent it also shook the faith of many Loyalists. Political agitations in Aligarh however, reached on its peak when the Ali Brothers supported by Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal organised Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Ka'aba, to provide whatever assistance they could render to Turkey.

Now the Nationalists to the M.A.O. College favoured joining hands with the Indian National Congress to launch a united anti-British Movement. By the time regular writings, speeches and campaigns at the M.A.O. College, the outlook of a number of students changed. They began to entertain anti-British feelings. But the Loyalists still had their hold over the College affairs.

The out break of the World War I had adverse political and economic effect on the Indians. The Loyalists at Aligarh began to support the British whereas the Nationalists like Khaliquzzaman, Shoaib Qureshi, Abdul Rahman and Aziz Ansari etc, under the patronage of Ali Brothers, started their anti-British activities from Aligarh. They travelled to different parts of the country in mobilizing anti-British support. Reputed Nationalists like Mrs. Besant and B.G. Tilak maintained close contact with the Aligarh Nationalists. They succeeded in bringing the Muslim League and the Indian National Congress closer to one another through the Lucknow Pact, 1916.

The Congress-League unity at Lucknow was disapproved by the orthodox section of the Hindus led by Madan Mohan Malvia. At Aligarh Shaikh Abdullah one of the Loyalist leaders also opposed the Lucknow Pact. Shaikh Abdullah thought that the Muslims were given less representation whereas Madan Mohan Malvia held the view that the Muslims had been given much representation. The Nationalist section of the M.A.O. College Aligarh, however, welcomed the Pact, as a sign of real progress towards the goal of emancipation from the British rule.

Turkey's defeat led to termination of World War I in November 1918. It caused a great alarm to the Indian Muslims. Khalifa was now in the hands of Allied powers like Britain,

France, Greece and Italy. To re-establish the position of the Khalifa and to regain the lost Holy territories of Turkey, the Indian Muslims founded Khalifat Committee, which soon became an all India organization.

It is to be noted that the Loyalists of Aligarh also had much sympathy for Turkey, but their belief in Khalifa and relation with the British Government was different to that of the Nationalists. The Khilafat Movement received an enthusiastic support from the Ulama. Gandhji also supported the Khilafat cause and invited all the Hindus to support the Muslims on the Khilafat issue. The Central Khilafat Committee passed the resolution of Non-Cooperation and Boycott. In the M.A.O. College, students supported Ali Brothers and Hasrat Mohani and founded Khilafat Committee.

Although the British Government was evading to fulfil its promise for the establishment of the Muslim University and had played a deceptive role in Tripoli, Balkan and the World War I, the Aligarh Loyalists continued to profess Loyalism to the English and opposed the M.A.O. College Nationalist's stand on Khilafat issue.

It is interesting that the Loyalists and the Nationalists waged a cold war through pamphlets and ballots. They held a number of secret meetings to woo the students to their side. But it is noteworthy that the students had great sympathy and support for the Nationalist's stand.

Gandhiji and Ali Brothers toured the country and persuaded the people to join the special session of the Indian National Congress scheduled to be held at Calcutta in early September, 1920. Despite much opposition, the resolution of the Non-Cooperation was passed and it was reiterated in the Nagpur session of the Congress in December 1920.

Here it may be pointed out that from the Champaran to Khera Satyagraha, Gandhiji had emerged leader of the Indian people. He supported the Muslims and appealed to the Hindus to support the Muslims on the Khilafat issue. Thus Gandhiji's support for the Khilafat issue, an emotional question of the Indian Muslims, led to the strengthening of unity between the Hindus and the Muslims. Interestingly this unity created a flutter in the communalist ranks. Propaganda was launched against Gandhiji from communalists of both the communities. Gandhiji in his paper Young India appealed to the Hindus to cooperate with the the Muslims in order to save Khilafat. He assured the Hindus that if they would support the Muslims, the Muslims would abandon the cow-slaughter. The Loyalists section of the Muslim Community propagated that Gandhiji was supporting the Khilafat in order to put a ban on the cow-slaughter. But Gandhiji's support to the Khilafat was much above such narrow political considerations.

The Khilafat Movement with full support of the Congress due to Gandhiji, had its impact on the Muslim mind. Majority

of the Muslims were now in defiance of the British regime. They joined the Indian National Congress which had now taken up their cause. Adoption of the Khilafat cause by the Congress and Ali Brothers in close association with Gandhiji and the Congress, ushered a new era in the M.A.O. College. Criticism of the Loyalists was no more confined to the newly emerged Nationalist group.

Gandhiji on his visit to the College, exhorted M.A.O. College Loyalists and called that the College education was slavish. He appealed the students to join Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement. Zakir Husain and Rafi Ahmad Kidwai were two most important students of the M.A.O. College among scores of others who joined the National Movement.

The progress of Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement was causing great concern to the British bureaucracy. The rise of Nationalists at Aligarh-a centre of the British Loyalists was a great alarm to the high ups in the British administration. Naturally their chief interest must have been not to allow the M.A.O. College to pass into the hands of the Nationalists and weaken the Loyalists. In such a situation one of the most effective and successful means would have been not only to revive the promise of a Muslim University for the Muslims but really to grant it to create division among the newly converted Muslims to the new creed of Nationalism, and bring them back to the old path of Loyalism.

At the same time the British attempt was also to generate a feeling of competition between the Hindus and the Muslims. Madan Mohan Malvia was obliged by the British Government by allowing the establishment of a Hindu University in 1915. The establishment of the Banaras University had increased the pro-loyalist sentiments among a section of the elite among the Muslims.

In 1919 the campaign for the establishment of a Muslim University reached its peak as the Muslims were thinking that the Hindus had overtaken them. In September 1920, the Charter of the Muslim University was granted by the British Government. It may be recalled that the grant of the Muslim University was made soon after the initiative of the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement. With the announcement of the establishment of a Muslim University, the Loyalists gained an edge over the Nationalists. The mutual tussle between the Nationalists and the Loyalists decided to set up an independent National Muslim University at Aligarh. The situation, from the Loyalists point of view worsened in the M.A.O. College. They decided to close the College. With the determination to establish a National Muslim University, the Nationalists invited both Hindus and Muslims to attend the inaugural ceremony of the National Muslim University on 29th October, 1920. Maulana Mahmoodul Hasan's Khutba was read by Maulana Shabbir Ahmad as the former was un-well.

Thus a new institution was born. It had the blessing and economic support of Gandhiji and Indian National Congress. This institution was renamed as 'Jamia Millia Islamia'. Maulana Mohammad Ali prepared a syllabus and the teaching commenced at the National Muslim University. Maulana Mohammad Ali himself started to teach English and Modern History. Senior students were also encouraged to function as teachers. The curriculum prepared by Mohammad Ali had a predominant national point of view.

While the Nationalists had practically started a National Muslim University, the Loyalists were still to get a formal permission from the Government to start a University at Aligarh. The Governor General fixed 1st December, 1920 for the commencement of the Aligarh Muslim University. The M.A.O. College was thus transformed into a University from 1st December, 1920. Admission cards were issued to the students who were considered loyal and cooperator. A number of letters from the guardians and the parents of the doubtful students came, requesting to admit their wards to the Muslim University. The Muslim University, Aligarh thus started its functioning under the complete control of the Loyalists. The Nationalists of the M.A.O. College with their independent and Nationalistic outlook kept themselves engaged in the Jamia Millia which was now shifted to Delhi. The Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement thus brought about a remarkable change in the Aligarh politics.

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